175
797 in one of the Spanish expeditions to Florida. Fr. Do-
[776] mingo undertook at once the overthrow of the patron
god of the *pueblo*, Ome Tochtli, or Tepoztecatl, a
deity of such importance that pilgrims came from as
far as Chiapas to visit his altar. Tradition has it that
he persuaded the Indians to allow him to put the
power of Ome Tochtli to a test. He would hurl the
figure from its eminence on the cliff above the valley;
if it should be dashed into pieces the natives would
acknowledge its lack of divine power. The test was
carried out; the idol smashed into fragments on the
rocks; these fragments were incorporated into the
foundations of the Christian church. The stone cross
[778] unde[illegible]e *ahuehuetes* around the well-watered clearing
at th[illegible]place known as Axihtla, at the northern edge of
the *pueblo*, is supposed to mark the spot where the
first baptisms took place.

175 During the early part of the colonial period the
177 forms of Christianity and the few important elements
[797] of Spanish material culture—iron, plow, cattle, swine,
and fruit trees—became incorporated into an Indian
culture that had been stripped by the *padres* of most
traits of primitive ritual and belief. The *pueblo* pros-
pered; the streets were improved, new aqueducts built,
a walled garden with a bandstand erected in the cen-
tral square. The first municipal government was in-
175 stalled in 1820. During the nineteenth century peri-
731 ods of prosperity alternated with periods of decline.
The old documents report pestilences in 1813, 1814,
1830, and 1833. In 1839 an earthquake shook down

the towers of the church. Periods of revolution temporarily 175
scattered the people and retarded development. [731]

In the second half of the nineteenth century Tepoztlán
reached its highest level of development. This was
largely due to the activities of José Guadalupe Rojas,
and later members of the same family. Under their
influence the schools of the church were supplemented [871]
by night schools for adults, an attempt was made to
publish a local newspaper; an "academy" was founded
for the conduct of discussions in the Nahuatl language.
This period of local brilliance coincided with
the general peace attending the régime of Díaz. Much
of the sophistication attained during this era was lost
during the revolution of 1910–21. Then for a time [669]
Tepoztlán was entirely depopulated, and intellectuals,
such as the members of the Rojas family, never returned.

After the first invasion of conqueror and of priest, 144
it is doubtful if many persons of Spanish blood came 177
to live in Tepoztlán.[1] The contacts with Europeans [167]
were effected by the movement of Tepoztecans to
Mexico City or to other cities. These movements, frequent
and accelerated by periods of revolution, have
continued for four centuries. In a straight line—if it

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[1] A document in the National Library of Paris, dating from the last decade of the seventeenth century or the first decade of the eighteenth, includes a census of *pueblos* in the Cuernavaca region. This gives for Tepoztlán 885 heads of families (*vecinos*), 2,628 persons (*almas*), that were Indians; 55 heads of families, 223 persons of *otras castas*—no doubt whites and *mestizos* (Manuel Mazari, art., "Un antiguo padrón itinerario del estado de Morelos," p. 151). The amount of white blood probably declined after this period.

144 is profitable to speak of straight lines in a country 177 where no communication is straight—Mexico City is no more than fifty miles from Tepoztlán. Yet, in spite of this, and in spite of the testimony of Bernal Díaz, the Tepoztecans today appear to be Indians of almost pure blood. Out of four thousand native inhabitants not more than a score or two show plainly their white 177 blood. The Nahuatl language persists, and is spoken 191 by nearly all the inhabitants.[1] A number of young people speak it only as a second language of much less familiarity. On the other hand, nearly everyone speaks Spanish; there are a few old people who do not, and many to whom Spanish is the less familiar tongue. The essential bilinguality of the population reflects the even balance of the culture between Indian and European elements; the culture is neither aboriginal nor Spanish, but a close integration of both—it is 177 Mexican. The inhabitant of Mexico, generally speaking, is the product of these two heritages. But in Tepoztlán, a *pueblo* which was long established before the Conquest on the site which it still occupies and which began immediately after the Conquest to receive elements of European culture, the community itself is the product of that fusion.

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[113] [1] The Nahuatl spoken in Tepoztlán, and especially differences in phonetic pattern between Tepoztecan Nahuatl and "classical" Nahuatl, are treated by González Casanova in *Un cuento Mexicano.*

CHAPTER II

THE MATERIAL CULTURE

The material culture of Tepoztlán, in contrast to the 177 non-material culture, preserves unmodified a large number of pre-Columbian traits.[1] The small number of the conquerors brought with them no great economic system with which to displace that already in operation among the Indians. The Mexican village [438] did not, even before the Conquest, make all its own tools; villages specialized then, as now, in the manufacture of a few useful articles and imported the rest from other manufacturing centers.

With the exception of ironworking, which soon made [32] obsolete the Indian techniques in stone, bone, shell, and copper, most of the elements contributed to the material culture by the Spaniards supplement rather than supplant technical systems of the Indians. Pre-Columbian patterns persist especially in the house, in house furnishings, and in cookery. Here there are many contributions from European culture, but these remain of secondary importance. The old techniques survive also in transportation, but there the post-

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[1] Bandelier gave us a short account (A. F. Bandelier, *Report of an Archaeological Tour in Mexico in 1881*, "Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series" [Boston, 1884], II, 95–99, 120–52) of the material culture of Cholula in the state of Puebla, and Starr (Frederick Starr, *Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico*, reprinted from Vols. VIII and IX, *Proceedings of Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences*, Davenport, Iowa, 1900) has scattered notes on the material culture of many villages in Southern Mexico.

177 Columbian contributions are of much greater relative [291] importance. Finally, clothing, especially that of women, is an aspect of material culture where Indian elements have been almost entirely supplanted by European.

342 The house group is the dwelling of a single family with accompanying outbuildings. As house sites are almost always walled off from the streets and as houses are rebuilt upon the rubble of earlier structures, the house, except near the central *plaza*, is usually above the level of the street. The house is always rectangular. The walls are most commonly of *adobe;* but may be of rough stones set in a mud mortar, or withes, wattle, or cornstalk. The roof, except where poverty [735] [177] prescribes mere thatching, is of tiles (a European improvement); the roofs are almost flat. There is ordinarily only one entrance to a room. Where there is more than one room, passage from one to another may most commonly be effected only by going outside and entering the single entrance of the adjoining room. [177] Window openings, except in the more Europeanized houses near the *plaza*, are rare. Glass windows and screening are practically unknown. Floors are of dirt.

177 342 Where wealth or Spanish influence has been stronger, most particularly in buildings near the central *plaza*, the form of the house may be modified in one or more of the following respects: The rooms are grouped around a *patio*. A roofed corridor runs around the inside of this. Or, much more commonly, the single room is fronted by a roofed porch, built integral with

177 342 the house. The roof of this porch is supported by columns; there may be an arch or two. The roof may be peaked. The porch (*corredor*), and perhaps also the house, has a brick floor. There are several windows; some of these contain iron grilles. The walls are plastered and perhaps tinted.

247 342 However mean or however important, the house is ornamented by a number of flowering plants, usually potted in oilcans, and stood outside the house on a rack.

342 The tripartite house division into *sala*, kitchen and storehouse, emphasized by Bandelier[1] and well illustrated by Starr,[2] is not always clearly marked. Sometimes the kitchen is merely a flimsy lean-to against the house, or is in a corner of the *corredor*, or is even in a corner of the single room. But more often it is a separate room or even an entirely separate structure. [343]

251 343 The storehouse (S. *troje*)[3] is practically always present, and is usually placed immediately in front of the dwelling. It occurs in three forms, all of which are probably of entirely pre-Columbian design. The *ohuatlapil* (N. *ohuatlapilli*) is most common. This is circular, about six feet high and of varying diameter; it is made of vertical cornstalks bound together with rope. It contains maize on the cob (S. *mazorca*). Also made to contain *mazorca* is the *cincolote* (N. *zincolohili*). This is square, of poles laid horizontally, one pair upon

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 129.

[2] Frederick Starr, *Indians of Southern Mexico, An Ethnographic Album* (Chicago, 1899), Plates XLIV, XLV, XLVI, XLVII.

[3] "S." indicates term used in Spanish discourse; "N.," term used in Nahuatl discourse. [104]

251 343 another at right angles to the first until a structure is raised tall enough to contain the maize to be stored. The *cuezcomate* (N. *cuezcomatl*) is a vasiform granary, plastered inside and out with clay. In it is kept shelled corn.

343 Perhaps every fourth dwelling has a sweathouse (S. *temazcal;* N. *temazcalli*), well known as a part of the pre-Columbian house group. This is made of stone set in mortar. It is rectangular, approximately square, and about five feet high at the center. The roof is low peaked. The one entrance is barely large enough to permit entrance of a man on hands and knees. Al- [515] [757] though occasionally now used merely to achieve cleanliness, its use, as in pre-Columbian times, is chiefly therapeutic.

231 343 [177] These are all indigenous features. Although bees and turkeys were domesticated before the Conquest, it is not clear to what extent the beehive—a simple wooden box—and the fowlhouse preserve pre-Columbian elements. The fowlhouse (S. *gallinero;* N. *pizcalli*) is a part of nearly every domestic establishment (but in many homes some of the chickens perch on ladders in a corner of the dwelling). It is usually built of stone, to keep out marauding carnivores, and has about the size and form of the sweathouse, except that the roof is tiled. To protect a horse or *burro* a thatched or tiled roof is erected in a corner of the yard. Something in 312 415 which to store water completes the house group. This is either a plastered tank (S. *pila*) or a large jar (S. *tianja;* N. *acomitl*) or merely an alcohol tin.

Neglecting for a moment the additional furnishings 252
of the more urbanized and well to do, one may declare 252
the domestic equipment within the house to be almost [177]
entirely pre-Columbian. The kitchen is the center of
domestic activity, and around it cluster most of the
accessories. Four features are inevitably present in all 252
houses, of whatever poverty or pretensions. These
four features vary hardly at all in form or position,[1]
and preserve, hardly modified at all, pre-Columbian
form and function. These four are the hearth, the
griddle, the grinding-stone, and the pot. The hearth [354]
(S. *tlequil;* N. *tlequilitl*) is sometimes no more than
three stones set in a triangle to support the griddle;
but more often it is of many stones, plastered, and
horseshoe shaped. Upon it fits the griddle (S. *comal;* [415]
N. *comalli*), a flat, circular tray, which occurs in only
one diameter (about eighteen inches). Although griddles
of iron are common in the cities, in Tepoztlán
they are always of clay. When not in use the griddle
stands on edge at the back of the *tlequil.* The three- [412]
legged grinding-stones (S. *metate;* N. *metlatl*) with their
long handstone (S. *metlapil;* N. *metlapilli*) are of the
well-known pattern. They are of andesite. The pot in [415]
which the maize is cooked (S. *olla de nixtamal;* N.
nexcomitl) stands beside the hearth.

In some houses the *tlequil,* which burns wood, is [354]
supplemented by the brazier (S. *brasero*) of Spanish [177]
origin. This burns charcoal. It may be of iron and
brought from the city, or it may be a homemade copy

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[1] Cf. Bandelier, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Starr, *Notes on the Ethnography . . . .*, p. 3.

252 in stone and clay. Only a small part of cookery in
[354] Tepoztlán is done on the brazier.

Most of the other articles which contribute to culinary technique are Indian, not European. The
[412] small andesite mortar (S. *molcajete;* N. *molcaxitl*) and
the pestle (S. *tejolote;* N. *texolotl*) are used chiefly for
grinding *chile.* Two of the three common forms of
285 basket are likewise pre-Columbian in general char-
415 acter. These are the forms without handles: the *chiquihuite* (N. *xiquihuitl*), which is stiff, as wide as it
is deep, and coiled on splints; and the *tompiate* (N.
tompiatl), which is flexible, twice as deep as it is wide,
and woven of soft reed. The other basket, which is of
the shape of an ordinary European market basket,
with a handle, has no Nahuatl name (it is always
called *canasta*), and is apparently a form introduced
[177] by the Spaniards. Its principal use is in marketing;
[482] therefore it is carried only by women, and on the left
arm under the *rebozo.* The whole forms a *canasta-*
[562] *rebozo* minor complex of post-Columbian development.
The other two baskets are used for the storage and
[251] transport of food (the *chiquihuite* is also used to strain
[252] honey), and may be carried by either man or woman.

177 Mexican pottery has been much modified since the
Conquest. Many forms are European, and the ware is
323 in general inferior. Shell-decorated Cuernavaca pottery is common in Tepoztlán, and there are occasional
pieces of glazed and painted Oaxaca ware. The ware
in general use in cookery is the plain ware of Toluca.
[415] The pot (S. *olla;* N. *xoctli*) preserves the ancient form;

the pitcher (S. *jarro*) and the saucer (S. *cazuela*) are 177
more European than Indian and are mentioned by the 323
Spanish names only. [415]

Minor elements in the culinary paraphernalia are the 412
shallow wooden boat-shaped mixing bowl (S. *batea*), [415]
the wooden spoon (S. *batedor*), and the small, rectangular, handled fan (S. *aventador*) with which the [372]
fire is blown up. For picking fruit from trees a cage-like picker of cane, on the end of a long pole, is employed. This is called (S.) *canastilla* or (N.) *acatecomatl*.

Other house furnishings vary considerably with the 352
wealth and education of the owner. Characteristically, however, the bed (S. *cama;* N. *tlapechtli*) is a mat (S. *petate;* N. *petlatl*) spread on the ground or on a low wooden platform. Often another aboriginal form of bed is used: splints of Mexican *bambú* (S. *otate;* N. *ohtlatl*) are stretched in both directions across a frame-
work of low posts driven in the ground. Tables are [735]
common but often absent in poorer houses. The backed chair is not rare, but much commoner is the low, backless bench. Although occasionally reminiscent of the pre-Columbian *icpalli*, it nevertheless is generally Eu-
ropean in form. No adult sleeps in a hammock, but [854]
babies are usually cradled in a flat, swinging framework which is homemade. This resembles other Indian cradle-frames, but bears the Taino name *hamaca*.

Certain domestic accessories of European origin 177
have become firmly associated with the aboriginal ele- [412]
ments and are always found in the house. Chief among [354]
these are the steel knife, the small iron kerosene flare

177 (S. *candil*), the candle, and the alcohol tin (S. *bote*) in
354 which water is carried and stored. Two of these tins
415 are yoked together and swung over the shoulder. In
482 this device (S. *aguantador*), of course European in character, water is hauled by the men. A woman carries
562 only a single tin.

778 A domestic shrine is found in most houses. This may
352 be no more than a printed or painted picture of a saint, but more commonly it is a carved and painted wooden figure, usually a Virgin or a Christ. This may be only a few inches high, or as much as six feet. Most are from early Colonial times. In front of this figure
782 an incense burner (S. *sahumeria;* N. *popochcomitl*) is
778 placed. This is of black glazed pottery. In it copal
352 gum is burned. Flowers are also placed before the figure, in bottles or vases, and pictures of other saints are hung near the image. This shrine is the center of domestic worship and ritual. Candles are burned before it on feast days; here the infant Christ is "put to bed" on Christmas Eve and taken up on Candlemas; before this image are placed gifts brought on birthdays
527 or those brought by a boy's parents during the
584 negotiations leading to a marriage with a daughter of the house.

353 Any property not in use is kept on plain wooden shelves or in covered wooden chests. Extra clothing is hung on nails. Walls are frequently decorated with pictures cut from newspapers, with sentimental picture postcards, and with little clay toys and ornamental dishes brought from other villages.

This description of the domestic equipment relates 177
to most of the houses in Tepoztlán. A conspicuous 352
minority, however, as has already been indicated, enjoy 184
elements of modern industrial civilization. A house
of this limited class may possess a few china dishes, or
a few glasses, some metal pans, perhaps a sideboard or
a metal bed or even a phonograph. The sewing machine
alone, however, among modern machines, has [404]
become a part of the general Tepoztecan material
culture; it is found in all parts of the village and in
houses otherwise Indian in character.

Cookery[1] has been but slightly modified by European 177
elements. The most important foodstuffs contributed 262
by European culture are beef, pork, sugar,
rice, chickens, eggs, and milk. Less important contributions
are potatoes, lima beans, wheat flour, chickpeas,
citrus fruits, and spices. The maize-squash-beans
complex remains, however, the basis of cookery. These
staples were and still are cooked with *chiles* and tomatoes.
Honey is still used as a sweetening, but has been [263]
largely supplanted by cane sugar. Cinnamon has displaced
the native vanilla. The apparatus of cookery 252
and the accompanying techniques are almost untouched 262
by European influence. Maize is boiled with [177]
lime and ground on the *metate* to a dough which is the
basis of a variety of foods. Chief among these is the
tortilla (N. *tlaxcalli*), the inevitable griddle-bread which
accompanies every meal both as a food and as an eat- [264]

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[1] See Margaret Park Redfield, art., "Notes on the Cookery of Tepoztlán, Morelos."

a *santo*. *Mole poblano* (or "turkey *mole*" [S. *mole de* 252
guajolote; N. *huexolomolli*]) in Tepoztlán may be made 262
of as many as nineteen ingredients. It is always served with turkey and only on the occasion of very important *fiestas*, characteristically weddings and baptisms.

Another category, *tortas*, includes vegetables, potatoes, etc., which are ground, mixed with egg, fried, and served with *chile*. These represent an application [177]
of the aboriginal grinding- and *chile*-patterns to introduced foods.

The cultivated and purchased foods are supplemented 262
with a number of wild vegetable foods and occasionally game.

It will be observed that a very few techniques of 252
cookery are employed. Foods are boiled, fried, or toasted. In spite of the presence of the oven, used by bakers and pastry-makers, domestic food is never roasted or baked.

Three meals a day are generally eaten. *Tortillas* and 264
beans are found at nearly every meal; often there is little or nothing else. Meat is most frequently added.

The commonest beverage is coffee, home grown and 272
toasted. Chocolate, the aboriginal drink, is everywhere known but its use is restricted by its cost. When made, it is beaten to a froth in the ancient manner. Milk is not rarely drunk, but usually sweetened with sugar or
flavored with chocolate; it is almost never used as an [252]
ingredient in cookery. A variety of "teas" are made of native and also of introduced herbs and seeds. Com- 273
mercial sugar-cane alcohol is largely drunk by the

may be added. Loose white trousers (S. *calzones;* N. 291
cahzon) of the same material are worn. These are wide [292]
at the waist; the sides are crossed in front and the
trousers are held up by a cloth belt or sash (S. *faja* or
ceñidor; N. *teilpiloni*). A man often goes barefoot.
The sandals are of the ancient pattern except that [177]
steer leather is used. A woman does not wear sandals
except when traveling. The straw hat (S. *sombrero;*
N. *cuatlayecahuilotl*), worn almost everywhere in Mex- [177]
ico, is of course of Spanish origin. A few styles are
"correct" in Tepoztlán.

It remains to mention the *zarape*. Ramon Mena[1] derives the word from Nahuatl *tzalanpepechtli* (*tzalan*, "interwoven," and *pepechtli*, "thick blanket"), a descriptive term applied by the Indians to the heavy blankets, often woven in with metal threads, carried by the conquerors and placed by them upon the ground when resting or sleeping. This blanket and the *tilmahtli* fused, culturally, and became the *zarape*. In Tepoztlán two forms are worn: the blanket form, wrapped around the shoulders and held together with one arm, and the *poncho* form,[2] in which the head passes through an opening in the center. The *zarape* is entirely masculine, but on unusually cold days a woman may borrow a *zarape* and wear it beneath her *rebozo*.

The *machete* (N. *tlateconi* or *tepoztlateconi*), the char- 412
acteristic Mexican steel knife with the curved tip, is 293

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[1] Ramon Mena, "El Zarape," *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqeologia, Historia y Etnografia* (época 5ª), I, No. 4 (Sept.-Oct., 1925), 373 ff.

[2] This *poncho* is probably South American in origin. [177]

412 so generally carried that it may be mentioned as a
293 part of the costume.

The woman's costume in Tepoztlán preserves fewer
●177 indigenous elements, although this is not the case in
291 many other villages in Southern Mexico. Before the Conquest it consisted of two principal garments: a loose blouse (*huipilli*) and a skirt (*cueitl*), consisting of a rectangular cloth wrapped around the lower part of the body. The *huipilli*, under that same name, is worn in many Indian communities south of Morelos, but not in Tepoztlán. In Tepoztlán the woman's costume is European in origin, and the names of the garments in Nahuatl discourse are Spanish, except those for the skirts, which are descriptive Nahuatl terms.

291 Over white cotton underdrawers (S. *pantelones;* N. *pantelontin*) is worn an underskirt (S. *enaguas adentro;* N. *cueiztactli*), usually also white, and over this a colored overskirt (S. *enaguas encima;* N. *cueipanitl*). The skirts are ankle length, very full, and gored. A collarless shirt (S. *camisa;* N. *camisahtin*), tucked into the skirt, covers the upper part of the body. Over it is worn a blouse (S. *saco;* N. *sacohtin*), and over this usually an apron. This either includes an upper piece covering the chest, when it is called (S.) *babero*, (N.) *baberohtin*, or does not, when it is called (S.) *delantal*, (N.) *delantaltin*. Around the waist is wound a sash (S. *ceñidor;* N. *zinidor*), dark blue or gray, about eight inches wide and six to ten feet long. This is the only
[286] garment of those here enumerated which is woven in

Tepoztlán. Almost invariably there are earrings, often 291
of gold (S. *aretes;* N. *areteztin*), and a short string of [286]
beads, most commonly red seeds (N. *corales;* N. *coraleztin*). [301]
Except when walking long distances, when sandals may be worn, or when in city dress, which includes shoes, the feet are bare. The only overgarment is the *rebozo* (N. *payo*), a sort of shawl worn over the head and upper body; one end is drawn across the breast and thrown back over the left shoulder. This is the characteristically Mexican garment worn almost everywhere and by every class except the highest.
The *rebozo*, like the *zarape*, is a post-Conquest development, 177
but unlike the *zarape* it has no Indian progenitor. 291
It probably represents a cheaper and more practical modification of the Spanish *mantilla* by the working Indian woman; and it had already taken its form by the end of the sixteenth century.[1]

Many women possess, for Sunday costume, a one-piece 292
dress of finer material. This is nearly always white, with a flounced skirt, and ornamented with pink or blue ribbons.

No woman ever wears a hat except when a man's 291
hat is worn for work in the fields or traveling in the sun. When sitting in the sun a woman may wind the *rebozo* on her head like a turban, but the real turban headdress frequently found in Southern Mexico is absent.
The hair is worn in two braids, or, particularly 302
by girls and young women, in a single braid. No cos-

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[1] José de J. Nuñez y Dominguez, *El rebozo.* Mexico: Departamento Editorial de la Dirección General de las Bellas Artes, 1917.

302 metics are used except that at the carnival talcum powder may be put on the face.

291 [177] Two generations ago the prevailing woman's costume in Tepoztlán was of another sort, a sort which included more aboriginal elements. This costume still survives in Tepoztlán, where two or three old women still wear it; there are probably others in the neighboring hamlets. It consisted of two principal garments: a skirt (N. *pitzcueitl*), of homespun, white above the hip and black below, where it was pleated; and a white triangle of similar homespun worn over the head like a *poncho* with one corner hanging down the back. This latter garment is the *quechquemitl*. It is a probably indigenous garment worn by Indian women in Central and Northern Mexico.

294 286 439 These two garments were made locally on primitive looms. Today all textiles are imported either as ready-made garments or as cloth to make up into clothing, except some of the women's belts which are still made locally.

291 The children's clothing reproduces that of the adults.

177 492 The aboriginal transportation system and that introduced by the Spaniards exist side by side in Tepoztlán, as they do nearly everywhere in Mexico. *Burros*, mules, horses, and oxen, with the accompanying paraphernalia—saddles, bridles, lassos, yokes—are used in patterns substantially those of sixteenth-century
[493] Spain. Only the wheel is not used in Tepoztlán, because the steepness and rockiness of the roads make its use impossible.

Nevertheless a very large part of transport takes 482 place on human backs with the aid of aboriginal devices. Burdens are supported with the aid of the forehead tump-line (S. *mecapal;* N. *mecapalli*), which is sometimes assisted by another line across the chest. Articles are carried either in the *chiquihuite*, which is then bound to the *mecapal* by means of the *ayate* (N. *ayatl*),[1] a tough, coarse-woven cloth of maguey fiber, or else in the *huacal* (N. *huacalli*), a crate of roughhewn sticks. Water is carried in a hollow gourd (S. 482 *bule;* N. *atecomatl*), supported by a lacing of leather 415 thongs. Women, as has already been said, carry purchases or small belongings in the *canasta*, or occasionally in a long rectangular fiber bag (S. *bolsa*). Men never carry these, but use for the *machete* or other possessions a small flat, square bag of vegetable fiber, the *morral* (S.).

Of musical instruments, recognized by the Tepoztecans as such, all are European: guitar, flute, saxophone, cornet, etc. Ritual music is sharply distinguished and ordinarily not called music. Of instruments employed for this purpose the horizontal wooden double-slotted drum (*teponaztli*) is entirely pre-Columbian. One of the two *teponaztlis* remaining in Tepoztlán has every appearance of being an actual pre-Columbian artifact. The *huehuetl*, the vertical drum with the skin head, which in Mexico is a commoner survival than the *teponaztli*, does not occur in 534 [177] [533]

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[1] On the use of the *ayate* among the Otomi see Starr, *Notes on the Ethnography of Southern Mexico*, p. 8.

534 Tepoztlán. The small flageolet (S. *chirimía*), which
[796] together with a small drum of European pattern is
played on the roof of the church or chapel to signalize
every sacred *fiesta*, as were once played on the *teocalli*
the *tlapitsali*, *huehuetl*, and *teponaztli*, is carved out of
● [177] *zopilote* wood and is a modification of the ancient
pattern under Spanish influence. In Nahuatl discourse
it bears the ancient name *tlapitsali*.

177 Local industries are few and almost all are European
438 in character. *Adobe* bricks are made by anyone
[333] who builds a new house or repairs an old one; the
simple technique is probably chiefly aboriginal. The
[283] twisting of ropes of maguey fiber is a domestic industry
confined to a limited group of houses. This
technique is European; a wooden wheel is used. The
lime-burning done at the neighboring hamlet of San
Andres is likewise European. Carpentering, ironworking,
[463] masonry, woodcarving, silverwork, shoemaking,
and breadmaking are all in the hands of specialists; in
each case the tools and techniques are European—the
early priests were good teachers and the Indians good
pupils.

286 Mena[1] declares that *zarapes* are made in Tepoztlán
of tree cotton, but other evidence of such manufacture
is lacking. A large loom has recently been introduced
by an educated young man for the weaving of
shawls. The use of tree cotton (N. *cuahichcatl*) is,
283 however, well understood, and occasionally thread is
spun thereof by the use of pre-Columbian spindle

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 382.

whorls (S. *malacate*; N. *malacatl*) which abound in 283
Tepoztlán and are simply picked up in any yard and
used. Even in the few surviving primitive looms, how-
ever, commercial thread is used. There are at least 286
two of these looms still in operation in Tepoztlán. They are used only to weave women's belts. The structure and somewhat detailed nomenclature of this loom cannot find room for discussion here. The weft is set up on a framework (N. *tzatzaztin*) of ten short sticks driven into the ground. The upper end of the loom is fastened to a house or tree; the lower end is drawn tight with the backstrap (N. *analoni*).[1]

Of industries relying on special machinery there are 256
two: the mill, to which is brought for grinding only a
small part of the maize eaten in Tepoztlán,[2] and the 274
mixing and bottling of soft drinks of carbonated water and artificial flavoring. Several men are occupied with this enterprise, and the product is largely consumed.

This fusion of Indian with Spanish features pro- 177 ●
duces, it will readily be seen, three classes of culture 184
traits: unaltered Indian elements; elements which have developed in Mexico from the impinging of Spanish features upon a homologous Indian pattern; and European elements transported intact to Mexico.

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[1] Mena says, and probably rightly, that the entire loom is called *analoni*. [114]
But these particular informants used the term for the backstrap only.

[2] There are three reasons why the mill has only a limited use: to many the [252]
slight cost is prohibitive; husbands assert that the flavor of *tortillas* made of
mill-ground *nixtamal* is very inferior; and, finally, to bring her maize regularly [558]
to the mill to the neglect of her *metate* lowers a woman in her neighbors' eyes.

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These three classes are respectively represented, for example, in costume by the sandals, the *zarape*, and the trousers, and in agricultural tools by the pointed stick, the *coa*,[1] and the plow. But while a separation of Indian from European elements is of interest to the culture-historian, it is of no interest to the native of Tepoztlán. The integration of certain European elements with Indian features is complete. Although few introduced elements bear completely Nahuatl names (the *machete* is one exception),[2] the Tepoztecan is unconscious of any difference between these and pre-Columbian elements. He feels the same with regard to his sandals, which are almost wholly Indian in origin, as he does with regard to his white trousers, which are wholly European. The *machete* is as Mexican as the *petate*.

There is, however, a grouping of culture traits which corresponds to the prevailing attitude of the Tepoztecans themselves. So far as surviving Indian elements and as certain European elements are concerned, the integration is complete. The culture just described, involving elements of both cultural heritages, is that which is general throughout Tepoztlán. But not all of

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[1] The *coa* is the flat iron hoe with the blade set parallel with the handle. It preserves the curved edge and the function (it is used to heap up earth around the maize) of the aboriginal *huictli*, but it is now made of iron and has probably somewhat changed its shape.

[2] In speaking Nahuatl one uses the Spanish word modified to fit Nahuatl phonetics and morphology. Mariano Rojas, a native of Tepoztlán, in his *Manual de la lengua Nahuatl* (Mexico, 1927), lists Nahuatl names for many articles of European origin, but most of these, while intelligible, are the artificial constructs of a linguist, and few are in general use.

the imported traits found in Tepoztlán have entered 177
into this general culture. Some traits of material cul- 184
ture occur in Tepoztlán, particularly in houses near
the central *plaza*, which are not a part of the general [369]
culture. Though perfectly familiar, they are possessed
only by individuals more used to modern city cus-
toms, and are regarded by the majority of the popu-
lation as exterior to the common life. Features such
as these have not entered into the culture because too
expensive (brick floors; iron grilles) or because their
general acceptance would involve radical changes in
existing techniques (the fork). There is, therefore, a
classification which corresponds with subjective cate-
gories, between the integrated Tepoztecan culture, on
the one hand, and secondary, exterior elements, on the
other. These exterior elements are thought of as at-
tributes of city life, that is, of modern industrial civili- [369]
zation. They are brought down to Tepoztlán by peo-
ple used to city ways. When a Tepoztecan goes to the
city he to a certain extent temporarily assumes the
material culture of the metropolis. He has, not infre- [292]
quently, a separate costume for city wear: dark trou-
sers, a dark hat, and shoes, worn only on visits to the
city. This simple fact expresses the nature of the com-
munity of Tepoztlán: no longer a primitive tribal so-
ciety nor yet an urbanized community, it must never-
theless be defined, as it tends to define itself, with ref-
erence to the world-wide city culture within which it
is now included.

The following table lists some features of the ma- 177
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369 terial culture in columns representing the categories suggested.

	General Tepoztecan Culture			Secondary Elements
	Indian Elements	Mixed Elements	Spanish Elements	
	MEN'S CLOTHING			
[291]	Sandals	*Zarape*	Undergarments; shirt; trousers; vest; blouse; straw hat	Dark trousers; shoes; felt hat
	WOMEN'S CLOTHING			
	(*Quechquemitl; pitzcueitl*)		The *rebozo* and almost all other clothing	Shoes
	THE HOUSE			
[342]	General form and materials: *Temazcal*, granaries; turkeys	Water-tank	Tiled roofs; hinged doors; chickens, pigs	Balconies; brick floor; iron grilles
	HOUSE FURNISHINGS			
[352]	*Petate; otate* bed; *tlequil; olla; metate; comal; molcajete; chiquihuite; tompiate*	*Cazuelas; jarros; bateas;* benches; stools	Table; candles; oilcans; water-carrier; *machete;* sewing machine	Brass bed; phonograph; oil lamp; forks Backed chairs; Brazier
	FOODS AND STIMULANTS			
[262] [276] [273]	*Tortillas; moles; tamales; atoles:* beans; maize; *chile;* squash; tomatoes, *pulque*	*Tortas;* tobacco	Bananas and citrus fruits; sugar; spices; rice; lima beans; beef and pork; chickens and eggs; coffee; *aguardiente*	Canned foods; beer

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General Tepoztecan Culture			Secondary Elements
Indian Elements	Mixed Elements	Spanish Elements	
AGRICULTURE			
Pointed stick	*Coa*	Plow	
TRANSPORT			
Ayate; *chiquihuite*; *mecapal*; *huacal*; *bule*	*Morrales*	Horses; mules; *burros*; oxen	
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS			
Teponaztli	*Chirimía*	Guitar; cornet	Phonograph; violin
INDUSTRIES			
Weaving; adobe-making		Brick- and tile-making; iron-working; carpentering; shoemaking; breadmaking	Bottling drinks

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512 and spices, as well as candles, alcohol, and kerosene,
[443 are rarely bought in quantities; the supply is replenished
438] almost every day. The storekeepers make up little screws of salt and of sugar, to meet the customary demand of purchases worth one or a few *centavos.* Coming to the stores, and especially to the bi-weekly
[521] market, the women from all parts of the village meet to enjoy gossip and the satisfying ritual of bargaining
[437] for a price. This is a social opportunity confined to
[462] the women; a man may make an occasional personal purchase, but never buy the household supplies.

512 Between the short rhythm of the day and the long
805 rhythm of the year falls the intermediate cycle of the
443 week. Although in places a subdivision of the lunation, this period is everywhere more artificial than the
177 others. In Tepoztlán the week has resulted from an adjustment of the Aztec market days to the European calendar, and from the introduction of the Christian Sabbath. Each of the eighteen Aztec "months" of twenty days was divided into quarters; on every fifth day adult men were required to attend the market (*tianquiztli*). These market days were also celebrated
[527] by games and festivals; they were a sort of compulsory holiday. Such regulations merely placed a legal sanction on a system of exchange of goods among the Aztec communities which had grown up to bind hundreds of Indian *pueblos* into economic interdependence.

512 No doubt the system of alternating market days in
805 the valleys of northern Morelos preserves substantial-
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*796 for these *fiestas*, and in the realization of the anticipated day, the people experience that tension and release, that holding-on and then letting-go, which seems to be everywhere a need of human nature. For many [527] weeks in advance of the carnival it is a chief subject of discussion, and long and elaborate plans are made for it. In the case of the religious festivals, the collection of the necessary money, the building of the fireworks tower, the training of the dancers, the making of the wax candles and the wax-flower decorations, the preparation of the festal dishes—all build up the tension which is to have such pleasurable release.

*796 786 [784] A distinction is sometimes made between ceremonial occasions which are characterized by restrictions on ordinary conduct and those which are characterized by unusual and pleasurable relaxations from usual restrictions: days of Saturnalia and days of taboo, holidays and holy days. In both cases satisfaction appears to be realized from the alternation of tension and release of tension. From this point of view it may perhaps be said that the calendric festivals of Tepoztlán are, with two exceptions, of the Saturnalia type. In the case of all the festivals celebrating *santos*, the day is on the whole one of pleasure, of wearing good clothes and eating good food, of dancing or watching religious dancing, of drink and of song; and this is even more obvious in the cases of the two most [527] important secular *fiestas*—the carnival and the *Al-*
*796 784 177 *tepe-ilhuitl.* The important taboo days are those im-

ported by the Spanish priests;[1] the last three days of 796*
Lent, when work is not done, water and wood are not 784
hauled. (Here, as elsewhere, the taboos of the Lenten 177
period are broken ceremonially by a lesser carnival, [786]
by getting drunk, and—historically characteristic—
by eating meat *tamales*.) The vigils observed during
the nights of All Saints' and All the Dead (October 31
and November 1) are also occasions of repression, of
taboo, rather than of license. The nights are spent in
praying, in calling aloud the names of the departed,
in waiting, in apprehension of the nearness of the
dead—in a repression of the impulses of play.[2] These
are uncanny hours, like the last hours of Lent; and
uncanniness is the very antithesis of Saturnalia.

All the other days of special observation are days of 527
relaxation, and even the most important commemora- 796*
tive occasions of the church are, in large measure,
play. Although the Tepoztecans customarily refer to
their holidays in two categories—sacred and secular
fiestas—the distinction they make is one between those
holidays which celebrate a *santo* and those which do
not. A great part of the *santo fiestas* is merely fun, and
in the widest sense one of the two principal secular
fiestas has a religious element. The carnival, on the

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[1] The Aztecs had taboo days in their *nemontemi*, the five days that rounded out the calendrical year.

[2] It may be observed that among the lower middle class in Mexican cities— [786]
and elsewhere—the Day of the Dead is celebrated by taking food and drink to
the graveyards and there enjoying a picnic. The final stage in this secularization
and "saturnalization" of this ancient taboo day is to be found in modern Hal-
lowe'en—a children's carnival.

celebrated far more than any of those in the calendar 527
of urbanized Mexico. It is the Independence Day of Tepoztlán, the Independence Day of our own history at a stage when the Declaration of Independence was still read before the fireworks.

It is, probably, an old occasion once truly religious, 527
now in the process of secularization. The *fiestas* of the 796*
santos redefine symbols which are still clearly distinct 369
gods. But the general state of holidays in Tepoztlán 177
suggests something intermediate between the condition in a primitive tribe and that in modern city life. The holidays of Tepoztlán are still individual, unique, each with its special ritual. For the *fiesta* of Los Reyes the *castillo* must be made in a certain shape; for the *fiesta* of Ixcatepec it is traditional for certain dances to be done. The mere cookery of the festal occasions is still differentiated and assumes a sacred [264]
character. On Palm Sunday one eats *revoltijo;* on Easter Sunday one eats meat *tamales;* on the Day of the Dead several special dishes are prepared; on the days which celebrate *santos*, and on no others, one eats *mole verde*.

As urbanization progresses, it may be ventured, festal cookery becomes less specialized; ice-cream becomes—ice-cream. The holidays lose their special rituals; they tend to become all alike in what is done and in the meaning they come to have—a generalized Saturnalia without special symbolism. They become commercialized; they are consciously reformed. To this end the holidays of Tepoztlán have not yet ar-

527 rived. But just to the extent to which the people take
*796 account of the coming of city visitors to the carnival,
369 to the *Altepe-ilhuitl*, and modify the celebration in
177 terms of the pocket-books and attitudes of the visitors, to that extent the change is promoted.

On the other hand, the Tepoztecan holidays are no longer like those of a primitive tribe. Under the impact of the Conquest and the substitution of a strange hagiology, the ancient formal religious organization disappeared. Therefore the philosophy of the priests, the specialized explanatory myths which accompanied the rituals, the whole elaborate rationalizing paraphernalia, is gone. What survives is not a ritual system in its exuberant period, but a flattened, generalized system of ceremonial which year by year is slowly becoming more generalized and more secular under the influence of modern city ways.

243 [438] scoops, paying perhaps eight or nine *centavos* a *cuar-*
[435] *tillo.*

By the third week in December the fields below the
[221] town are still and empty. The last loads carried by
[244] the *burros* are of round green squashes, grown among
the corn. Into some fields the cattle are turned to
[231] forage. Above the town, where the fields ripen later,
the harvesting continues, but the work is on the wane.
There is time to rest now, and enjoy the Christmas
*796 *fiestas*. Preparations are under way. In many houses,
[177] particularly in those nearest the *plaza*, where Spanish
influence is strongest and where there may be a little
money to spend, the nine *posadas* are celebrated as
they are celebrated all over Mexico. By this time
the matrons of the neighborhood have arranged in
whose house will take place each of the nine *fiestas*.
Nine women will take turns as hostess, dividing the
responsibility and the expense. Someone has gone to
[439] Oacalco for sugar cane, to Yautepec for peanuts. The
[484] women are making little paper baskets (*alcartazes*) to
hold candies and peanuts.

It is not in one of the larger houses near the *plaza*
[868] that boys are learning to sing the songs of *Los Pas-*
[533] *tores*. In the yard of a smaller, more Indian house in
some street off the *plaza* a score or more of boys are
seated on the ground learning the songs from a
maestro who is the repository of this local tradition.

[794] The *mayordomos*, with their assistants, decorate the
[782] chapels with flowers and cedar boughs and colored
tissue paper. People cut branches of poinsettia, now
[439]

121 church. The technique of the obstetrician is remote from the religious ritual of baptism; the practical problem of disposing of a dead body is attacked by a practical specialist, while the expression of the feelings of the bereaved is assisted by conventionalized ritual which is religious rather than magical.

● 177 Such, at least, is the suggestion coming from the 184 literature; it is made also by the materials from Tepoztlán. In this village the practices followed by one family or another on occasions of marriage, death, and most particularly birth, probably differ considerably; and these differences will, it seems clear, be found to depend largely on the degree of sophistication of the family considered. *Los tontos* preserve the old traditional practices; with them the magical and the practical are still an inseparable whole. An [844] informant from this group describes the practice of putting tallow on the umbilical cord of a newborn child and that of burying the placenta underneath the fireplace with no feeling that these customs are of different sorts; because in her group they are no different. Both equally affect welfare; one might just as well be omitted as the other. The midwife is magician-[846] priest rather than obstetrician; she eats the same food [759] as her patient as long as their relation of intimacy is maintained during postnatal care. But among *los correctos* there is probably a tendency to relegate the non-practical usages to the rank of superstitions, and to omit them entirely. This tendency grows, and [182] grows slowly; the society is not breaking down; it is merely changing, and the gradual process of change can be observed, it would seem, in the diffusion of tools and rational techniques from *los correctos* to *los tontos*. 177 184 182

The materials which can be offered here are too scanty to permit even a beginning of such a study. They are indeed inadequate to give a balanced description of all the commoner practices in connection with life-crises. But they may be offered so that the merely depictive aspect of this study may be more nearly complete, and so that the cadence of a Tepoztecan life may be at least outlined.[1] 128 114

A pregnant woman keeps largely to the seclusion of her own home. There are no important taboos on women during pregnancy. "If she suddenly wants to eat something, and cannot get it, she takes *tzacxochitl*[2] so that the child will not fall." After three months of pregnancy she goes to the *barranca* to bathe. She may do this many times before the birth. 843

When the time of delivery comes, she is assisted by a midwife [S. *partera;* N. *amantecatl*]. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord with scissors, measuring four fingers' length from the child. Then the cord is carefully tied with cotton thread which has been doubled or quadrupled and the end of the cord is burned well with a tallow candle in order that it may not bleed. Tallow from the candle is put on the thread, and the child is tied up with a band. In about three days the cord will fall off, but every day until that time fresh tallow is put on. When the cord has fallen, tallow is put on for the last time. The umbilical cord is preserved 844 [846] [755]

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[1] The materials on birth customs were secured by Margaret Park Redfield. They were nearly all obtained from one informant, a woman of middle age, who had borne nine children. She represents the typical *tonta;* and it is probable that what she described is characteristic of the majority of births in Tepoztlán. Information on marriage customs is much less complete; it was obtained from three informants, two *tontos* and one *correcto*. That on death customs is more complete, and probably the customs here vary little from family to family. The writer attended many funerals. [115] [184]

[2] *Laelium* sp. She takes an infusion of the pseudo-bulb. [278]

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

591 ent. "A good wife lives contentedly with her mother-in-law."[1]

177 585 The ceremonial accompanying marriage has, in general, a simple Catholic form. Most of the features of the old Aztec customs,[2] such as the consultation of diviners in selecting the bride, the formal exhortation of the bride and bridegroom, the tying together of the clothing of the boy and girl as the sanctifying act, have been displaced by Christian-church ritual. But certain elements remain. The formal presentation of the request for the girl's hand, which must be repeated [584] before formally accepted, was a part of the old Indian [608] custom. The godfather has taken the place of the professional *cihuatlanque*. Minor elements of this custom, such as the bringing of gifts of fruit and food, are likewise survivals.[3]

584 [608] When the boy has found a girl he wants to marry, he tells his parents. His father and his mother and his godfather and his godmother all go together to the house of the girl to ask her consent. They are received by the girl and her parents. She is not expected to give her answer then. The representatives of the boy ask the girl and her family to think it over, and they come back in a week. They usually go on Sunday. They may come back more than once. If she says "No," the matter is ended. If she says "Yes," then just a week after her consent is obtained the boy's parents and godparents come to her house and put flowers and candles in front of the *santo* in her house. They do

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[183] [1] When it was suggested to one informant that the couple might live with the wife's parents, he laughed and said, "Oh, no, there he couldn't even cry out." But a few newly married couples do live in that way.

[2] See, e.g., Clavijero, *Historia antigua de Mexico*, p. 326.

[3] In some villages the old customs are very largely preserved. See, e.g., J. Paredes Colin, art., "Marriage Customs of San Juan Miautitlan" (Puebla).

this on following Sundays too. They may bring chocolate and 584
wine and a *chiquihuite* of bread and put this before the *santo*
also. Usually the boy and girl know the matter is settled before
the formal consent is given.

The wedding ceremony is performed by the priest in the 585
church, if the priest is there and if the families can afford it.
Civil marriage is required by law and obviates difficulties of inheritance; but it is not well regarded and is done reluctantly and
with no feeling of a sanction received. Not uncommonly neither
ceremony is performed.[1] After the wedding there is a feast, with [574]
mole poblano ["turkey *mole*"]. This takes place at the house of
the groom. His parents and godparents stand the expense. The [608]
girl's wedding costume is likewise paid for by the boy's parents
and godparents. The relatives and friends of both families come [535]
to the wedding feast; sometimes dancing goes on for two nights.

The marriage is in part a recognition of the new re- 581
lationship between two families: between the parents 608
and godparents of the bride and those of the groom.
All these people are now *compadres*, a very close and
intimate relationship characteristic of the peasant
peoples of Catholic South Europe. The importance of
the godfather, who to a certain extent displaces the
father in control over and responsibility for the child, [171]
is described by Gamio;[2] the relationship is about the
same in Tepoztlán.

The family organization is in general European. 177
The details of family relationships among the Aztecs 601
are unknown. But a comparison of present kinship
terms in Tepoztlán with those used by the Aztecs[3]

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[1] The collected information does not warrant a statement as to the extent of [588]
informal unions without any ceremonial recognition.

[2] *La población del valle de Juan Teotihuacan*, II, 243.

[3] This is done in a table in Appendix A.

177 601 shows that the old terms are used in so far as they agree with European categories, or are modified in meaning so as to conform with European grouping. The importance of the relationship between parents-in-law is reflected in the use of the Nahuatl word *huexi*, and also of the Spanish equivalent, *consuegros*, to denote this relationship.

764 [786] [177] The ritual of death includes two conspicuous features. One is the wake, a mildly orgiastic occasion probably more Catholic than Indian. Few pre-Columbian elements survive in the death customs. The paper sandals on the soles of the deceased, the water-gourd and food placed with the body, are probably such feeble survivals.

764 766 [775] The other is the sharp distinction between a child's funeral and that of an adult. The former is, as the child is supposed to "become an angel immediately," a theoretically happy occasion, and is accompanied with symbols of rejoicing. An adult is less certain of a place near the Divine Seat, and the funeral symbolism is somber. In Mexico City this distinction is exhibited chiefly in the color of the coffin—white for a child, black for an adult. In some Indian villages the rejoicing on the occasion of the death of a child is more copiously expressed than in Tepoztlán. In Xoxocotla, south of Tepoztlán, in Morelos, rockets are discharged at the funeral of a child, and in some Guerrero villages a dance is held.[1]

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[1] Not personally verified. The statements in this sentence were made by informants.

178 463 learned his trade in Mexico City. Here he has entered into the freer economic competition that characterizes the city, and his abilities have enabled him to survive by means of a trade or profession which he is fitted to carry on. The herb-doctor, the *chirimitero*, the maskmaker, and the others of this group have, it would seem, more often inherited their professions, come into them almost inevitably. This is clear for the *chirimiteros*, *huehuechihque*, and maskmakers; information is lacking as to the herb-doctors and midwives. The techniques employed by the specialists of the first class are those of modern European civilization. Those of the second class are, for the most part, ancient heritages of the Indian culture. The art of the [177] fireworks-maker is a European technique, it is true, but it is one early acquired and incorporated into the folk culture. Information from other Mexican villages[1] suggests that, like other specialties in the second group, it tends to become a mystery, a guarded art transmitted reluctantly to only certain individuals.

In almost every case it is lamented, by *los tontos*, that the specialists of the second group are becoming fewer. There used to be many *chirimiteros;* now there are but three. Young men want to learn to play the violin rather than the *chirimía*. The few remaining *huehuechihque* are overworked. The greater need for

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[424] [428] [1] "In such wisdom lies precisely the success of the trade and because of its precious formulas, reserved in most rigorous secrecy, pass from father to son as an inestimable legacy, and only on rare occasions to the predilect worker, generally the future son-in-law, as a recompense for great fidelity" (M. O. de Mendizabal, "Powder That Kills and Powder That Amuses," *Mexican Folkways*, III [1927], 15).

which the individual comes to feel are beyond his control, 753 757 are thought of as morbid entities. The folk practitioner diagnoses them and treats them like any disease. [828]

La mohina ["fretfulness, peevishness"; no Nahuatl term given] is very common. "It is when one has become very angry. One may even get so angry one cannot get over it, but dies. Many things may cause it. For example, one may come to my house, and after he leaves I miss some object I prize. I blame the caller as the thief and get very angry. Or I may break something I am fond of and so get very angry. Children do not get this disease." The remedies are various quieting drinks. Spiced drinks are common, a tea made of lemon leaves, and especially an infusion of turnip peels.

El espanto ["the fright," "the terror"; no Nahuatl term given]. —"One trembles and grows weak and does not wish to eat. Anything frightening may cause it, as, for example, when you wake up suddenly in the night having seen a ghost [*muertito*]." The patient is bathed with laurel that has been blessed by the priest and with orange and shaddock peels which have been placed on the altars during Holy Week.[1]

Diseases thought to be caused by possession by evil 753 spirits, so common in Mediterranean Europe, are apparently 754 absent in Tepoztlán, perhaps because not characteristic of American Indian thought. On the other hand, the idea of the Evil Eye, just as little [177] characteristic of the American aborigines, has been introduced by the Spaniards and is common all over Mexico.[2] The present materials do not contain any reference to the affliction by the name of the Evil

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[1] *El espanto* is described from a village in Tehuantepec by Frances Toor in *Mexican Folkways*, No. 7 (1926), p. 31. There the cure consisted of making the sign of the cross, massaging with herbs, and prayers and invocations. [755]

[2] In the state of Mexico, Gamio, *op. cit.*, II, 258; in Tehuantepec, Starr, *Notes on the Ethnography of Southern Mexico*, p. 52; in New Mexico, Espinosa, art., "Notes on New Mexican Folklore," pp. 395 ff.

178 *ahuahque* are the mountain-dwelling, terrifying gods
776 of thunder and rain, and are not connected with dis-
ease.

755 These limited materials suggest that in general the
757 medical treatments in use in Tepoztlán are like those
of all folk communities—a stock of traditional cura-
tive acts tending to be ritualistic. But, to a certain
extent, there is available to an afflicted invididual the
[369] choice of applying remedies of the city. Not a few
have lived in the city and have learned to use some of
the drugs in official pharmacopeias. One or two in-
[278] dividuals in Tepoztlán keep a few commercial drugs
[444] on hand for sale. There are drug stores in Cuerna-
vaca, and not infrequently an individual, even a *tonto*,
[484] will walk there to secure a medicine. A prolonged
[752] toothache, which has survived the ministrations of the
herbalist, may cause the sufferer to go to Cuernavaca
to have the tooth extracted.

● 177 It might be supposed that this choice of remedial
757 systems would in time bring about an experimental
attitude on the part of Tepoztecans and favor the
extension of rational conduct in the treatment of
disease and the corresponding diminution of magical
behavior. A collection of cases might show the mech-
anisms of the process. What affect the city ways are
[369] having on the attitude toward disease is, however,
probably slowly felt, and so far the traditional cures
are paramount. During two or three months of 1925
[759] or 1926 a Bulgarian doctor,[1] one of the few Europeans

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[1] Known to the Tepoztecans as a German.

to take up residence in Tepoztlán, attempted to de- 177
velop a practice of medicine in this community of over 757
four thousand. Although well liked, he was unsuccess- [759]
ful in his attempts to secure a practice; people continued to go to the herbalists, and he moved to Yautepec. It seems probable that the city treatments are, 177
at first, simply incorporated into the general body of 755
magical practices. Like people in distress everywhere, 757
a Tepoztecan turns first to the cure with which he is familiar; if it fails, he turns to one less familiar, perhaps a more grossly magical practice from a mental world he has in general left behind him, perhaps an alien practice of the outside world into which he has not yet come.

The baby son of J. S., perhaps the best-educated man in Tepoztlán, a leading *correcto*, fell sick of an intestinal disorder on Monday. On Tuesday J. S. went to the shoemaker to get some medicines from him. The shoemaker prescribed opium and mercury pills and advised that the baby's stomach be rubbed with cold water. This was done. The baby was no better Tuesday, and J. S. sent to Yautepec to ask the doctor there for medicine. Meanwhile the baby grew worse, and J. S. rode up into the hills to find a kind of rose which is frequently steeped to make a remedy for intestinal troubles. This was administered to the baby. At night a patent medicine arrived from the doctor. The following day the baby was no better. On the advice of a neighbor the baby was given more herbal remedies, and its stomach was rubbed with suet. Meanwhile little care was taken with modifying the sick child's food. The next day the doctor came and the child was cured.

R. C. is a man who has spent a short time in Mexico City. He 755
can be described as a *tonto* more sophisticated than most. One 754

755 spring day he was on his way to San Andres to collect money due him for cattle sold on credit. Becoming tired, he rested beside 754 the crosses at Cuicuitzcatla. He fell asleep, and while sleeping was soaked in a rainstorm. Next day he fell ill, and dreamed that little people were attacking him. He knew that in the rainstorm *los aires*, offended, had attacked him. So he went to a *curandera* in Tepoztlán. She washed him with herbs and directed that he get a live chicken and have *tamales* made to give to *los aires*. She told him that the dolls made in Tepoztlán were not good enough for *los aires* in a case as serious as this, and that he should get a doll from the stores in Mexico City. This he did. But at the last minute the *curandera* stole the doll from the tray which she was taking to Cuicuitzcatla, and *los aires* did not receive it. Someone saw the *curandera* take the doll, and told the patient. [757] He did not get better. He went then to a doctor in Mexico City, who treated him for several weeks, without improvement. In increasing distress R. C. heard of a spiritualist who had come to Yautepec and was curing people through the medium of the spirits. R. C. went to him, but again no cure was effected. He was then urged to try a *curandera* at Santiago who specialized in curing *los aires*. She told him that *los aires* had been enraged by the loss of the doll, and that he must do it all over again. The washing with herbs was repeated, and a new and larger doll obtained. Finally the *curandera* arranged "the last cure" [*la ultima cura*]. R. C. walked to Cuicuitzcatla. On one side of him walked a musician playing a flute to conciliate *los aires*, and on the other side a man with a whip who beat R. C. at intervals to show *los aires* his penitence.

● 177 757 The abandonment of the older, more magical, more ritualistic treatment probably takes place first in the case of the minor disorders. Some traditional remedial acts tend to pass under scrutiny and to be justified because of the rationally comprehended means they employ to achieve the desired result. There is, for ex- [515] [565] ample, a notable difference in the way the sweathouse

(*temazcal*) is regarded by a young *correcto* on the one 177
hand and an old *tonto* on the other. The former no 757
longer practices all the ritualistic uses of the *temazcal*. 515
There is a growing tendency to use the sweathouse [565]
simply in order to get clean, to become refreshed. The
temazcal is very slowly becoming secularized.

The sessions of both are somewhat irregular, but the 872 former gives instruction to a score or more of girls, the latter to several score of children of both sexes. There is also a small federal school in Santiago and another in San Andres. Not a great deal is taught besides reading, writing, and simple arithmetic, and a little Mexican history. Quite a number of *los correctos* [565] have had superior schooling in Cuernavaca or Mexico City.

The mere statistical statement of the extent of liter- 212 acy, however, is inadequate to describe the advancement of this people. The degree of intellectual development is better told in terms of how much and of what is read rather than by counting those who can read. A truer picture would appear from a study of the uses to which the knowledge of reading and writing is put. Such a study has not been made. This preliminary consideration suggests that even including the minority of the city-wise, the people of Tepoztlán make very little use of the stored experiences of other groups. The best-educated man in Tepoztlán has read much when living in the city, but in Tepoztlán he owns hardly more than half-a-dozen volumes. It is, one would venture, a very unusual occurrence if a single individual in Tepoztlán, except a schoolboy studying his lesson, reads from any sort of book.[1] Magazines rarely appear in Tepoztlán, and in this [204] community of four thousand people no newspaper

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[1] The writer himself introduced to Tepoztlán the only technical volume—a handbook of the mason's craft—which he saw in Tepoztlán. [123] [177]

212 comes regularly. A newspaper costs one-tenth of a
[204] daily wage, and when a copy does come to the village there are only a few *correctos* who read it.

Literacy, a technique of communication bestowed by civilization, is not largely used in enabling the Tepoztecos to take over the experience of other groups. With *los tontos*, at least, the exploration of books ends with the brief schooling. But, by those who possess it, a knowledge of reading and writing is much exercised in the everyday affairs of life: in making business entries, in writing letters,[1] in recording the
[533] contributions for the *santos*. And, finally, the songs composed in the valley are often reduced to writing.

538 For there is a local literature. As with all folk peoples there are songs, stories, and legends that are a part of the tradition of this particular community. Among primitive peoples such songs and stories are orally transmitted. They are definitely traditional, and individual composition of entirely new examples is relatively infrequent. Such traditional songs and stories—"folk lore" in the narrowest sense—exist in Tepoztlán. There is a group of tales centering around "El Tepozteco,"[2] the legendary "king" of the people of Tepoztlán. There are stories of animals. Such have been frequently collected in Mexico, and some indeed
[177] in Tepoztlán.[3] Whatever aboriginal elements exist in

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[1] During 1927 about a dozen letters a day arrived at Tepoztlán, and as many left. About half were business letters.

[2] See p. 26.

[3] Franz Boas, "Notes on Mexican Folklore"; "The Coyote and the Opossum," *Mexican Folkways*.

such tales are overlaid by many European and perhaps African elements. 538 [177]

If the purpose of the present study had been to rescue disappearing elements of a more primitive culture, it would have been indicated to collect materials of this sort. But these older, traditional folk tales do not constitute the songs and stories of meaning and significance to the Tepoztecos. A few people tell these stories, usually to children. This body of folk lore is passing through the nursery to oblivion. It is no longer vital; it does not enter into the important social situations in Tepoztlán.

There are, however, many songs and some stories of 533 local provenience and of local reference which are of 538 great importance in the life of the Tepoztecans. Their character reflects the character of Tepoztecan culture; they are halfway between the songs and tales of a primitive tribe and the tales and songs of a city people. They are only in part traditional; the most important of them are self-conscious compositions, enduring only while fashionable. Only in part do they pass orally from singer to singer; they tend to rely upon writing for circulation and for perpetuation. They are sung by adults for adults;[1] they are the invariable concomitant of all important social occasions in Tepoztlán; and, most important of all, they express the wishes and the ideals of the contemporary people. They constitute the real literature of Tepoztlán.

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[1] With the exception of some ritual songs, which are sung by children in public ceremonies.

533 For these reasons an attempt was made to collect such songs. Because of circumstances to be described [114] it was difficult to obtain the ritual songs; those obtained are no more than a sample. The social songs of ballad type that were collected, on the other hand, probably include nearly all of this sort locally produced and in current favor at the time of the investigation.[1] A collection resulted of twenty-seven songs, including almost two thousand lines.

The songs in this collection easily fall into two very different types, which correspond in general with a distinction between public and private music. The songs of the former group are the traditional chants that accompany some of the religious dances. All local public songs today in Tepoztlán are a part of the ceremonies of the church. They have their prose complement in the *relaciónes*, the texts spoken to accompany *Los Moros*, the religious dance-drama previously described.[2] These ritual songs are entirely anonymous

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[126] [1] The writer first began to take down songs as he heard them sung. Later he found that one of the two best-known singers in Tepoztlán knew all the songs in current use. Some he had written down in a copy-book; some he dictated to the writer. At many later social occasions the writer never heard sung a local song which he had not already recorded from the collection of this one leading singer. There is no question as to the local nature of the songs. The ritual songs are used only for certain local ceremonies. The ballad songs that are local are notorious. Not only do they often contain local terms and references, but the music of northern Morelos is apparently of a distinct type. On hearing a few measures [177] a singer will exclaim, "Oh, that is entirely *morelense*." Besides the local songs many songs imported from other parts of Mexico are sung.

[536] [2] The prose text accompanying *Los Moros* was not collected. The many versions throughout Mexico are similar. One is printed in Gamio, *La población del valle de Teotihuacan*, II, 333 ff. *Relaciónes*, some in Spanish and some in Nahuatl, from a *pueblo* in Morelos, are published in Elfego Adan, art., "Las

and probably in most cases ancient. They were probably written by early priests and especially devout natives. They are fixed and permanent. They change little, and new examples do not readily appear. Their tendency is, no doubt, to diminish, as elements of ritual are lost. Often they are in the keeping of only a few, even a single, individual. When the time comes to instruct a group of singers in these songs, such a *maestro* teaches them orally, line by line. There is some reluctance to expose their content casually; they tend to become somewhat esoteric. They are traditional, sacred, ceremonial, public; in meaning they are one with the mass, with religious responses. But they are entirely local, not in type, for the type is widespread, but in specific content. 533

They are religious hymns of praise of the type generally known as *alabanzas*.[1] The object of adoration is the Christ, Mary, the cross, or a particular *santo*. Some rehearse the episodes involving the birth of Jesus; others describe the Passion. Often the phraseology is taken from Catholic liturgy. But the songs sung by *Los Pastores*, the boys who dance and sing on Christmas Eve and on Twelfth Night, employ a more spontaneous language of naïve poetry. A few stanzas [177] [539] [536]

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danzas de Coatetelco," pp. 135–94. The prose text accompanying the ritual of "El Tepozteco," recited on the day Altepe-ilhuitl, is apparently the only traditional public text not connected with the church.

[1] Like the secular ephemeral songs about to be described, local *alabanzas* are sometimes printed on cheap leaflets. A collection of such hymns is described in Mariano Silva y Aceves, art., "La collección folklorico de la biblioteca del Museo Nacional," pp. 269–320. See also Nuñez y Dominguez, art., "The Alabado and Alabanzas," pp. 12–17.

portant social occasions it is these men who do the singing; lesser persons would not presume. Women do not sing them publicly, and women are not obviously present at gatherings where they are sung; just as they do not ordinarily eat with men on social occasions. 533 [562]

The songs are usually sung by two men, one of whom plays the accompaniment on a guitar. When the song is ended, little or no approval is indicated. When a number of songs have been sung by one couple, the guitar is offered to some other recognized singer. Such a spontaneous program of music may continue for many hours with no repetition of songs. Some songs have persisted for many years; few last that long. Some that are sung in Tepoztlán have originated in distant parts of Mexico and have become widely popular, but many were composed in northern Morelos. It is these truly local songs which are the subject of the following comment. [177]

Two subjects, everywhere popular, predominate: love and war. The love songs much less directly express the interests of the people, because most of them are highly conventional. The title of such a song is almost invariably the name of a girl to whom the song is addressed. Such songs are supposed to originate as real love songs, composed by a lover and actually sung to his lady. But it would appear, although not conclusively, that in Tepoztlán such an origin is usually fictitious; and certainly these love songs are ordinarily sung by men to men in any social gathering.

brow is almost regularly compared to the rising sun. 533 A well-liked stanza praising Porfiria in such terms appears again almost unchanged in a different song addressed to Concha.

Esos tus chinitos que adornan tu frente	Those curls of thine which adorn thy brow [539]
Me roban el pensamiento,	Rob me of thought,
Parece que miro el sol del oriente	It seems that I behold the rising sun
Cada vez que los contemplo.	Each time that I look upon them.

These love songs are expressive only in that they reflect the degree of sophistication of the group. The form and the poetic mood are not indigenous, are not [177] a growth of the soil; they are borrowed. They have become a conventional art form in Tepoztlán. They are the more naïve forerunners of the sentimental song of city civilization.

From this form only three or four love songs in the present collection depart. One describes the competition of a rich man and a poet for the hand of a lady. In another the lover tells his lady that in loving her he is forced to break the Ten Commandments. Only one 533 love song in the group is told not in the stilted language of a formal poetry but in the true vernacular. 539 It is a dialogue between a man of the people and a girl of the people. They are both, it is clear, *tontos*. He woos her not with the artificial flowers of a borrowed metaphor but with the promises and in the terms of Tepoztlán. Nahuatl phrases are used.

533 they are the most significant of all the songs. They
538 are the songs that record and perpetuate events (*cor-
ridos*, in the sense in which that term is used generally
in Mexico). In the cities of Mexico such songs report
dramatic crimes or accidents as well as the events of
war. This class of songs constitutes a sort of news-
[208] paper of the folk. Such songs from other communi-
[177] ties come to Tepoztlán and are sung there along with
the local *corridos*. But, in Tepoztlán, crime almost
[674] does not occur, and great accidents are rare; so the
subject matter involves almost entirely the episodes
and the heroes of the last great revolution. Dramatic
incidents that happened near Tepoztlán, the local rev-
olutionary leaders, the moods of pride and sorrow of
revolutionary days, were made into music by Zapatis-
ta soldiers around their campfires; and now these
memories of which the group is proud are revived and
the values therein are redefined in the singing of the
songs today. These songs are the real history-books
of Tepoztlán, the cherry tree of their George Washing-
ton, and their Paul Revere's ride.

533 These ballads of revolution may conveniently be
539 regarded as of three principal types: the soldier song,
the political lampoon, and the narrative of a military
exploit.

In the soldier song the Zapatista sings his life. There are no episodes, no personalities. The life of the *guerrilla* in the mountains itself speaks.

"Oh, no, I have no copy-book." To know and to be 533
able to sing the current songs is a common ambition 538
of young boys. It is an advantage to be able to write. 212
A girl of fourteen of the largely illiterate *barrio* of Los [883]
Reyes was the only one of her family to have a knowledge of writing. Although *corridos* are a part of a
man's world, not a woman's, her elder brother was [562]
forced to ask her to help him in writing down a song [555]
he wanted to learn. Her prestige was correspondingly increased.

At the same time the supremacy of these local songs 177
is not unchallenged. Songs of the city are occasionally 369
heard in Tepoztlán. There are several phonographs, 533
and these aid in making city songs popular. The songs [216]
of urban Mexico are much like our sentimental songs. As the urbanization of Tepoztlán slowly progresses, the city songs will become more usual; there will be a shift of emphasis from folk song to popular song.[1]

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[1] One convention of city sentiment prevails in Tepoztlán. As elsewhere in [527]
Mexico, it is customary to give a person on his birthday colored postcards depicting white blonde women and men in European attire in attitudes of banal affec- [532]
tion, amid turtledoves and flowers. These cards are as customary as the *mañanitas* on birthday mornings.

CHAPTER XI

THE *SANTO* AND THE *VETERANO*

533 776 769 186 It should appear from the foregoing chapter that the most important groups of songs, with the possible exception of the conventional love songs, are the *alabanzas* and the *corridos*.[1] The former are traditional, sacred, ritualistic; the latter are ephemeral, secular, and historical. But the *corridos* that recount the exploits of military heroes are like the *alabanzas* in this: they also are songs of celebration; they also extol personages that embody the admiration or adoration of the Tepoztecans. The one praises the *santo;* the other, the *veterano.* The *santo* and the *veterano* are both symbols of the ideals, the wishes, of the group. These symbols are local; in most instances the meaning that they have is for the locality only. The community is ideologically as well as economically self-sufficient.

776 621 [177] The *santo* is a local patron. Each Indian village in pre-Columbian days had its patron deity, while in Mediterranean Europe protector gods of city or village were characteristic; it is impossible and unnecessary to say how much of each tradition enters into the attitudes of Tepoztlán. In rural Mexico every hamlet has its patron saint. In Tepoztlán, as has al-

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[1] Using this word to mean the ballads describing current events or circumstances.

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This use of the language as a symbol of the Indian 565
heritage has helped to give the movement a racial 185
rather than a nationalistic character. 668

After the revolution of 1910–23 few of *los correctos* 191
returned to Tepoztlán. Most of those who did go back 186
went back to employ the practical and commercial
experience they had acquired in the city in order to 167
earn a living in Tepoztlán. They are the artisans and 177
merchants there today. Of the six men who were most 159
instrumental in organizing the colony of Tepoztecan 369
émigrés—the group of intelligentsia—only one re- 565
turned. Except two teachers, he was the only real intellectual living in Tepoztlán at the time of these observations. The substance of his life-history gives in a specific case the experience passed through by that type of individual who springs from the folk, is no longer entirely at home in it and yet can never quite leave it, and who suffers the conflict and disorganization of his position, with one foot in one world and the other foot in another.[1]

R. G. was born in Tepoztlán about forty-six years ago. He is apparently a pure-blooded Indian. His father was poor, but, like the other Tepoztecans, had his *milpa*. He was a man of some
education, and, after the federal government had taken charge 172
of the pre-Columbian ruins above the town, he was made "keeper 659
of the monuments" at three *pesos* a day. The son, R., lived in Tepoztlán until he was nineteen years old. Up to that time his only schooling was that of the little local public school. In his own words, he "lived like an animal," running about and having a good time with the other boys but with no ideas or aims direct-

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[1] Dr. Robert E. Park has called this type the "marginal man" (art., "Migration and the Marginal Man").

CHAPTER XIII

THE INTERMEDIATE COMMUNITY

The culture of Tepoztlán appears to represent a type intermediate between the primitive tribe and the modern city. It has, one would venture, its nearest analogues in the peasant communities of the more backward parts of Europe, of the Near East, and of the Orient. To the extent that Tepoztlán is economically and mentally self-sufficient, to the extent that its social heritage is local and is transmitted without the use of writing, to the extent that all knowledge is intimate and personal and is closely associated with the ancient habitat of the people, the community resembles a primitive tribe. But just to the degree that Tepoztlán conceives itself as a part of the outside world, and that the Tepoztecans define their personal problems in terms of modern city civilization, it is unlike a tribal society. The Tepoztecans are primarily Tepoztecans, but they are also, if somewhat more remotely, Mexicans. Their society might be called a "folk" community, in a more special sense than that in which the term is often used. 105 369

So little, outside of the material culture, are elements of pre-Columbian custom preserved that it presents small opportunity to a culture historian interested in the character of the aboriginal society. 177

177 Only from the point of view of history or of romantic appreciation is Tepoztlán an "Aztec *pueblo.*" The elaborate ritual and philosophic scheme which distinguished the pre-Columbian culture was carried by the priestly class; and these meanings were practically extirpated by the conquerors. The society was, one might say, decapitated. The ancient household techniques remain, but the ancient values are gone.

[121] But if the interest is not in depiction, but in studying social change as it takes place—in social anthropology as contrasted with ethnology, in the terminology of Radcliffe-Brown[1]—then Tepoztlán presents an excellent opportunity. This opportunity is for the study of the change whereby a folk community is slowly becoming more like the city. This change is a case of diffusion, occurring in an easily observed situation, so slowly as not to accomplish the disorganization of the community, and under practical circumstances which liberate the student from responsibility to record the fragmentary vestiges of a disappearing culture.

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[565] The frontier of this change is between *los correctos* and *los tontos.* This frontier is a geographical, not merely a figurative, frontier. The diffusion of city traits can be observed and expressed in spatial terms. The point from which changes originate is the central *plaza.* This is at first confusing to one accustomed to examples of the diffusion process taken from tribal

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[1] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, art., "The Methods of Ethnology and Social Anthropology."

societies. There the changes that originate in the center of an area are those modifications locally developed in accordance with the characteristic type of the area, while the changes that take place because of contact with another culture take place on the periphery. But here, with a paradox that is only apparent, the periphery of change is at the center. This is because the contact with the city takes place here. Here visitors come. Here are trade, machinery, and print, so far as these come at all to Tepoztlán. And here, by a sort of selection, are drawn the tradespeople whose rôles have been determined by urban competition and who are familiar with city ways. These people—the tradespeople and other *correctos*—on the one hand, communicate by direct face-to-face relations with *los tontos* on the periphery, and, on the other hand, through their memories of the city, and by means of letters, newspapers, and visits to the capital, communicate with the city. It is as though there were, in this central zone where live *los correctos*,[1] two overlapping culture "areas": a culture of the folk, with communication by direct contact, and a culture of the city, which impinges on the other culture in another dimension, by means of communication which transcends space. 177 369 [565]

The ways of the city diffuse outward from the central *plaza*. They are not carried outward by migration, because the interests and activities of *los correc-*

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[1] Of course there is no definite zone, but merely a tendency for *los correctos* to dwell, and for city traits to occur, near the *plaza* rather than near the outskirts. [565]

177 *tos* cause them to live near the *plaza* and so keep out
369 *los tontos*, and also because people continue to occupy
the house sites of their ancestors. By spotting the
177 traits on a map of the community the distribution of
city traits as compared with folk traits could be in-
369 dicated. An example of such a distribution is given
463 on the accompanying map. Here are contrasted the
361 distributions of two sorts of professionals. Each letter
indicates the home (except in a few cases this is also
the place of business) of an individual with a recognized specialty. On the one hand are those specialists —tradespeople and artisans—who practice European techniques and who mostly acquired their specialties through economic competition. These are in general found near the *plaza*. On the other hand are the midwives, herb doctors, and fireworks-makers, who practice more ancient, traditional techniques and who in more cases came into their rôles by birth. These tend to be found toward the periphery.

[621] The upper three *barrios*, San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastian (and, to a somewhat less extent, Santa Cruz), are the most remote from the *plaza* and are *barrios* of *tontos*. These three contain the greatest proportionate number of magical specialists and not a single rational specialist of the sorts listed. The peo-
177 ple in these *barrios* have a different "mentality" from
369 those that dwell around the *plaza*. Racially they are
621 no different, but the experiences they undergo are
different. They are "timeless" for one thing; few up
[805] there have watches, and they are too far away to hear

the clock on the *plaza*. Illiteracy is greater up there. 177
The mailcarrier in the months of these observations 369
never delivered a letter to one of these three *barrios*.

These statements, and those that follow, need of 621
course the support of a more substantial body of materials [805]
and more careful exploration into the facts. They are made merely to define a problem for further work. In this sense it may be stated that the distributions of various aspects of city ways rather strikingly coincide. Those elements of material culture which were more recently taken over from the city and are still exterior to the Spanish-Indian folk culture, such as forks, felt hats, and metal beds, are to be found in the inner zone of *los correctos*. Here also is most marked the tendency toward secularization of holiday celebration. It is *los correctos* who promote the carnival, with its strongly secularized, commercialized aspect; while it is *los tontos* who control the religious *fiestas*, with their greater detail of ritual and remoteness from commercial activity. The three most important *fiestas* commemorating *santos* occur respectively in San Pedro, San Sebastian, and Ixcatepec, on the peripheries of the community. It is *los tontos* who preserve the most traditional ritual on practical occasions of crisis, such as birth or death. One might venture to guess that the nearer a birth occurs to the central *plaza* the less the proportion of merely ritualistic, expressive behavior and the greater the proportion of purely practical behavior which attends the occasion.

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If the difference between *los correctos* and *los tontos* increases during periods of disorder, it decreases during periods of peace. And during these latter times the progressive advance of city ways, the influence of *los correctos* over *los tontos*, can be observed. This process, it has already been sufficiently suggested, is a process of diffusion. It remains only to point out that this diffusion process may be thought of somewhat more broadly than is usually possible in the instances of diffusion ordinarily considered by ethnologists, where the bare facts have to be reconstructed or learned at second hand.

In the first place, it may be supposed that the diffusion is not merely the communication, between contemporary groups, of the traits usually listed, of technique and ritual. There pass also what can rather awkwardly be called "subjective" traits: mental form as well as mental content. It is not merely that the group comes to employ a new artifact or to adopt a new attitude toward marriage or toward a religious practice. It may be said that the whole mentality correspondingly changes, if by "mentality" is understood a complex of habits employed in meeting unfamiliar problems. Mentality in this sense too is an aspect of culture. If the individual undergoes experiences of a very different sort from those undergone before, he develops a correspondingly new organ, a new mind. The patterns of thinking of a city man, where a multitude of unfamiliar experiences are dealt with by relegating them to convenient classes, are different from

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

those of a remote rural dweller whose social objects are all unique and known by their individual characters. So, if it can be shown that *los correctos* tend to reject traditional magical ways of curing disease, for instance, and accept instead the ways of modern life, it might be that such a change be not entirely due to the prestige of city cures but due also to a general tendency to solve problems by means wherein the mechanisms involved are understood. 177 369

In the second place, the diffusion is not merely the borrowing of ethnological traits, because the diffusion is accompanied by a change in the attitude which the people have toward themselves. The just-preceding chapter suggests that a study of diffusion here is not merely enumerating elements of culture which the group has or has not, but also involves a consideration of striking changes in the type of personality to be expected in the group. The sensitiveness, pride, and zeal for reform which characterize the individual described in that chapter are perhaps traits that typify the culture of his group (*los correctos*), but they were not borrowed from the city. They are changes which have resulted in him out of the conflict between the two cultures in which, mentally, he is living at the same time. The way a people feel about themselves and about other people is a datum which may be included in a direct study, such as this might be, of the culture process. 177 369 155

APPENDIX A

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

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The terms in use in Tepoztlán, when Nahuatl is spoken, are the same (with occasional minor variations) as they were in ancient Nahuatl, according to the list extracted from Molina (*Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana*, 1571) by Paul Radin,[1] in the following instances: "son," "father," "mother," "grandfather," "grandson" ("granddaughter"?), "son-in-law," and "daughter-in-law." These ancient terms had the same specific connotation in old Nahuatl. But where the old language made age or other distinctions not recognized by European kinship terminology, such terms disappeared and were replaced by Spanish terms in modern Tepoztecan Nahuatl vocabulary, or else were extended to cover the class represented by the nearest Spanish term. The former change is illustrated by the use of Spanish terms for "nephew," "niece," "brother-in-law," "sister-in-law," and "cousin" (general classifications which the old Nahuatl did not make) and by the new (?) general Nahuatl word for "brother" or "sister" (*icnihtli*). The latter change is represented by the extension of *nonnantli* to mean the husband's mother as well as the wife's mother, and the corresponding extension of the word for "wife's father." It is not clear why the Spanish words for "uncle" and "aunt" appear to have superseded, in Tepoztlán, the old Nahuatl terms. Perhaps these were individualizing rather than classificatory. The modern words for "husband" and "wife" are likewise different, but probably are also old terms (*nozoa* means simply "my woman").

The terms in the following table are given as they appear when standing alone. Actually they are usually heard with the pronominal particle and hence without the suffix; but often with the honorific suffix. Thus *pilli* is almost never heard, but *nopiltzin* ("my child"), etc.; so *nocihtzin*, not *cihtli*, etc. So it is also with Spanish terms used in Nahuatl discourse (but the honorific is not added): *nosuegra* ("my mother-in-law").

[1] "Maya, Nahuatl and Tarascan Kinship Terms."

English	Tepoztecan Nahuatl	Ancient Aztec Nahuatl
Father	*Tata, tatzin*	Same
Mother	*Nana, nantzin*	Same
Son or daughter	*Pilli, conetl*	Same [Radin gives *tepiltzin* or *noconeuh*, "son"; *yacapantli* or *teconeuh*, "daughter"]
Brother or sister	*Icnihtli*	[No word for "brother" or "sister," but words for "older brother," "younger brother," "older sister," "younger sister"]
Grandfather	*Colli*	Same
Grandmother	*Cihtli*	Same
Grandson	*Ixhuitli*	Same [also meant "father's brother's son"]
Granddaughter	?	*Texiuh*
Uncle	"*Tio*"	*Tlahtli*
Aunt	"*Tia*"	*Auitl*
Nephew	"*Sobrino*"	[No general word for "nephew"; *ixhuitl* designated "father's brother's son"]
Niece	"*Sobrina*"	[No general word for "niece"; *teixiuh* designated "father's brother's daughter"]
Cousin	"*Primo*"	[No general word for "cousin"; children of father's brother designated by special terms; other cousins distinguished according to whether older or younger than the speaker]
Mother-in-law	*Nonnantli* or "*Suegra*"	*Nonnantli* designated "wife's mother" only
Father-in-law	*Montahtli* or "*Suegro*"	*Montahtli* designated "wife's father" only
Brother-in-law	"*Cuñado*"	*Textli* [*tehuextli?*] designated the wife's brother [or wife's sister]
Sister-in-law	"*Cuñada*"	*Uezatli* designated only the "husband's sister"
Son-in-law	*Montli*	Same
Daughter-in-law	*Zoamontli*	Same (variant form, *cihuamontli*)
Husband	*Namictli*	*Teoquichui*
Wife	*Zoatli*	*Teciuauh*

English	Tepoztecan Nahuatl	Ancient Aztec Nahuatl
Stepfather	*Tlacpatahtli*	?
Stepmother	*Chahuananlli*	?
Godfather	"*Padrino*," less commonly, *toyotahtli*	....
Godmother	"*Madrina*," less commonly, *toyonantli*	....
Reciprocal term used between parents and godparents, between two godparents of the same child, or, by extension, to any intimate friend	"*Compadre*" (used in both Spanish and Nahuatl discourse)	....
Reciprocal term used between the two pairs of parents-in-law [Sp. *consuegros*]	*Huexihtli*	?
Reciprocal term used between individuals who bear the same baptismal name [Sp. *hermanos de nombre*]	*tocaihnihtli*	?

APPENDIX B

TEXT OF *RELACION*

[The following is a part of the Nahuatl text of the *relación*, 114
used at the *fiesta* Altepe-ilhuitl in September, which is spoken by 527
the actor representing "El Tepozteco." A somewhat different 536
version, including a short reply made in turn by each of the attacking
pueblos, has been collected and published by Robelo.[1] 539
The first line of the following extract is the text as I collected it,
suffering from the degeneration of long traditional use and the
errors of the collector. The second line is the text as "restored"
by Mr. John H. Cornyn, and the third line is Mr. Cornyn's
translation. Mr. Cornyn says that the text was composed in the
sixteenth century "on the model of the pre-Conquest Aztec metrical
poetry (and) is written in the trochaic meter." He says also
that "the Tepozteco or Lord of Tepoztlán accompanied the wizards
and wonderworkers of Cuernavaca summoned to Mexico
City by Moctezuma II, in the hope that they might prevent the
arrival of the Spanish invaders to Tenochtitlan. He was one of
the first converts to Christianity. For this reason the four cities
mentioned in the text, so tradition says, rose against him; but,
with the help of the Virgin, he defeated them and brought their
lords and nobles into the Catholic fold. This incident was taken
advantage of by Fr. Domingo de la Asunción, first missionary to [797]
Tepoztlán, to convert the heathen autumn festival into a Christian [177]
feast with its accompanying miracle play to replace the old
ritual." The notes which follow the text were also kindly furnished
by Mr. Cornyn.—R. R.]

Aquin anmehuatin nican anhuallahque ahueli 527
Aquin amehuantin nican anhuallaque[2] [*o-huallaque*]? *Ahueli*[3] [*ca* 536
amo] 539
Not even

Who [are] you [who] have come here?

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[1] Art., "Diccionario de mitología Nahoa," pp. 228–34.

[2] *An-huallaque* for *o-huallaque*. The poets frequently left out the sign of the preterite.

[3] *Ahueli* is dialectic for *ca amo*, "not even."

527 *ihuan chicome tlamimilolli;*
'huan chicome tlaltemimilolli;[1]
536 and [the] seven stony hillsides;

539 *no-ayochicahualiz ihuan no-ayotlahpalihuiz?*
in no-ayochicaualiz 'huan no-ayotlapalihuiz?
they are my valor and my essential strength?

Nicnochicahua noyollo!
Nic-chicahua in noyollo!
I fortify my heart!

Maxihuala, tehuatl ti Tlayecapanecatl!
Ma xihuallauh in ti Tlayecapanecatl!
Come forward, thou of Tlayacapan!

tlein ipampa tinechtemohua?
Tlein ipampa in ti-nechtemohua?
Why dost thou seek me?

Cahuel nelli queh oquimohtlahui yehuatzin,
Ca-uel-nelli queh oquimo'talhui[2] *in yehuatzin,*
It is quite true as she, the aunt, said who shines

te ahuitzin, ompa ilhuicacxitoni,
te-ahuitzin,[3] *ompa ilhuicac-xitoni,*
there in the heavens,

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[1] *Tlalte-mimilolli*, the rough, broken hill- or mountain-side; *tlaltetl*, "earth-stone," a ball of earth, clay, conglomerate, or volcanic matter found in abundance on the mountain slopes of the valley of Mexico; *mimiloa*, "to extend," "to increase," "to roll."

[2] *Mo'talhui; italhui*, "to speak," "to say," "to explain."

[601] [776] [821] [3] *Te-ahuitzin*, the aunt (in general), substituted for *te-ci*, the aunt of one's grandparents. Teci was the ancestor of gods and men and the antecessor of Our Lady of Guadalupe at Tepeyac (Guadalupe). As the wife of the fire-god, in the older Mexican mythology, she was the goddess of birth and fertility and the ruler, like her husband, of the three divisions of the universe, the superterrestrial (all above the earth); the terrestrial (on the earth), and the subterrestrial (below the earth). Teci was the "hare in the moon" and, by metathesis, the moon herself, who assumed all the attributes of the goddess. When the grain was gathered in, the Mexican people held a great festival in (September) in honor of Teci (identified with the moon). The *Tepozteco* play seems to have been written to [243] [177]

metztli oquimoxopehpechtihtzino. 527
meztli oquimoxopechtihtzino.[1] 536
she, the moon, has made her dwelling [foundations]. 539

matlactli ihuan ome cicitlaltin
Matlactli 'huan ome cicitlaltin
Twelve stars she has

oquimo xochi-icpacuiltitzino.
o-qui-mo-xoch'-icpac-cuiltitzino.
[like] flowers placed on her head.

omotlacempanahuilli ompa ilhuicac;
omotlacempanahuilli ompan in ilhuicac;
She has surpassed, there in the sky, all;

ihuan nican tlalticpac;
ihuan nican in tlalticpac;
and here on earth;

ihuan nohuiampa cemanahuac.
ihuan nohuiampa cemanáhuac.
and everywhere in the universe.

Maxihuala, Tehuatl in ti-Huaxtepecatl!
Ma xihuallauh,[2] *tehuatl in ti, Huaxtepecatl!*
Come forward, thou of Huaxtepec!

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take the place of this old autumn festival. The reference in the text is to the old heathen belief of the "old aunt" or ancestor, Teci, the moon, holding her court in the sky, amid the stars. Teci was frequently identified with Chicome-xochitl ("Seven-Flowers"), the goddess of birth, who had her home among the stars. This is probably the reference, in the text, to the seven flowers and the seven stars. The Indians associated the Virgin with the moon. [776] [243] [177] [821]

[1] *Oquimoxopechtihtzino* (rev. form), "has made her foundation," that is, all that lies beneath her, over which she rules or has dominion. *Xopechtli*, "foundation," is verbalized by the suffixing of *-tia*, "to make," and the prefixing of *mo*, for "one's self." As verb it takes the objective pronoun *qui*="has-it-for-herself-foundation-made."

[2] *Ma xihuallauh*, imperative of *huallauh*, "to come toward." This word is frequently written incorrectly because, in ordinary conversation, the *uh-termination* is not pronounced. This *-uh* formed one of the poetic licenses of the Aztec poets, who pronounced it or not according to the necessities of the meter.

171 of widespread contacts of the Indian peoples among themselves before the Spanish Conquest, and the common influence of Spanish colonial institutions since the Conquest.

Tepoztlán parallels, to a remarkable degree, many of the characteristics of Mexico as a whole. Within the relatively limited area of the municipio of Tepoztlán[24] we find practically the entire range of climatic zones of Mexico, from the *tierra fría* to *tierra caliente*, with their accompanying variety of natural resources. It is a striking fact that over fifty per cent of the total land area of Mexico falls within the range of altitudes found within this single municipio, that is, from approximately 3,500 to 9,500 feet. Tepoztlán is also distinctive in the way in which its statistical indices follow national figures for such items as the percentage of its arable land to total land, the percentage of its forest land to total land, and the average size of landholdings. The rate of population growth as well as the distribution of age groups also closely parallels the national figures.

105 177 In Tepoztlán, as in Mexico as a whole, we find contrasting elements of the primitive and the modern, the old and the new, the Spanish colonial and the contemporary. Tepoztlán has a strong Indian heritage; many pre-Columbian traits persist in the village today. The system of communal land-ownership, an important aspect of the economy and social organization of the municipio, has remained practically intact. Many elements of pre-Hispanic agriculture are found; corn, beans, and squash remain the staple products. Pre-Columbian traits of material culture have also persisted, particularly in house construction, furnishings, cookery, foods, and clothing. Among the more important of these items we find adobe walls, the sweathouse (*temascal*) made of stone and mortar, clay plastered granaries for corn (*cuescomatl*), the hearth (*tlequilitl*), the three-legged grinding stone (*metate*), the clay griddle (*comal*), the mortar and pestle (*molcaxitl* and *texolotl*), huaraches, tortillas, chile, and pulque. In non-material culture there are also survivals, especially in curing and magic, and in customs pertaining to birth and other stages of the life cycle.[25] 191 The Náhuatl language has also persisted. As late as 1927 Náhuatl was spoken by nearly all the inhabitants, although most of the villagers also spoke Spanish.

The large number of Spanish colonial elements which still exist in the village culture today were introduced early in the sixteenth century soon after the Spanish Conquest. The most important of these traits are the physical layout of the village with its barrios, streets, and central plaza; Catholicism and the churches; the Spanish language; a money economy; domestic animals, the plow and other agricultural tools; and the greater part of the beliefs and customs of the people.

Side by side with the pre-Columbian and Spanish colonial elements are many significant items of modern industrial civilization, such as corn mills and sewing

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101 131 [24] While the village of Tepoztlán is the primary subject of this study, the village cannot be understood except within the framework of the municipio of Tepoztlán, of which it is the *cabecera* (head), a status roughly equivalent to our county seat. In this study, therefore, there will be frequent references both to the village and the municipio.

[25] Many of Bernardino de Sahagún's descriptions of native Aztec diseases and their cures are still remarkably accurate descriptions of present-day customs in Tepoztlán. Indeed, many sections of Sahagún read as if he had been relying upon Tepoztecan informants.

105 177 machines, a modern highway and buses, clocks, poolrooms, patent medicines, powdered milk, a few battery radios, and one or two automobiles. The existence of these old and new traits, and the varying degree in which they are combined from family to family, makes for cultural complexity and heterogeneity in Tepoztlán.

174 Tepoztlán, like Mexico, has had a long and complicated history of mingling of peoples and cultures, and has never been a truly isolated village. The marginal position of Tepoztlán between the high plateau area to the north and the lower valleys of the south, as well as its proximity to the major roads of travel, has subjected it since pre-Hispanic times to influences from many areas.[26] Tepoztlán has been inhabited continuously since early archaic horizons, and the various ceramic levels unearthed in the village show a variety of influences which include Olmec, Toltec, and Aztec.[27] In the more recent pre-Hispanic times it was a center of religious pilgrimages, some of which came from distant Chiapas and Guatemala, and the fame of El Tepozteco, the legendary culture hero of the village, seems to have been known far and wide.

Since the Spanish Conquest the village of Tepoztlán has had even more contact with the outside and, in fact, has been closer to the main stream of national life. The great scenic beauty of Tepoztlán and its proximity to Mexico City and Cuernavaca, two key political and administrative centers, have played an important part in the history of Tepoztlán. Martín Cortés, the son of Hernán Cortés, and members of the Cortés family over a few generations, lived in the village in the present-day barrio of La Santísima. The barrio chapel was reputedly built by Martín Cortés just opposite his house so that he could hear morning Mass without going to church. The forced labor of the Tepoztecans in the mines of Taxco and in the neighboring haciendas of the Marqués del Valle, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, brought Tepoztecans into contact with Negro slaves

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[26] Edgar Anderson's study of Tepoztecan corn (see Appendix A, p. 449) also shows the marginal position of Tepoztlán.

[27] In the thirteenth century, the nearby towns of Chalco, Amecameca, and portions of Morelos were inhabited by the Olmecs, who were a Popoloco-Mixteca group. Wigberto Jiménez Moreno suggests that some of these Olmecs were later Nahuatlized. It is perhaps significant that to this day Tepoztecans make religious pilgrimages to both Chalco and Amecameca. Undoubtedly Tepoztecans had frequent contacts with both towns prior to the Conquest. Shortly after the fall of the Toltec empire some of the dispersed Toltec groups fled to Cholula which was an Olmec center. [788]

Jiménez Moreno has suggested that the pre-Hispanic history of Mexico might be divided into two great periods. In the first, the coastal or Olmec influence predominated and in the second, the plateau predominated, particularly after the founding of Tula. The valley of Morelos seems from the earliest times to have been a meeting place for both the eastern and northern influence and its culture therefore represents a synthesis of both. As evidence of eastern influence in Tepoztlán, Jiménez points to the square shields of El Tepozteco, clearly not a highland trait. Square shields are an Olmec trait and are also shown in relief work in the room of the ball courts in Chichen Itzá. Furthermore, the ax shown in the figure of Ometochtli is called *itztopolli*, which is like the Olmec *mactepuztli* shown in the Olmec codices. Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, "El Enigma de los Olmecas," *Cuadernos Americanos*, Vol. V, No. 5 (Sept.–Oct., 1942), pp. 122-25.

For ceramic evidence on this point, see the work of Florencia Muller, *Chimalacatlan*, *Acta Antropológica*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (March, 1948).

174 of Cortés in Cuernavaca and on nearby haciendas. This is suggested by the local physical type as well as by local lore. There is a tradition in the village that Negro slaves from Cuernavaca worked as day laborers in the construction of the church. It is said that a Negro lies buried in each of the pillars of the church and that is the reason why the church is so strong.[28]

369 The village of Tepoztlán well illustrates the Mexican pattern of the domination of the center over the periphery. Since the sixteenth century, Tepoztlán, as the principal village, has dominated the surrounding villages politically, economically, and socially. Tepoztecans today feel superior to the people of the outlying villages, and, by and large, have superior educational facilities, better means of communication, and a higher standard of living. Going from Tepoztlán, the center, to the smaller surrounding villages of the municipio, we find a greater persistence of older customs, less literacy, and more people who speak only Náhuatl.

177 Tepoztecans, at various times in the history of the village, have achieved positions of prominence in many fields and have had personal contacts with men in the highest political circles of the state of Morelos and the nation. Many young men [167] have left Tepoztlán, especially in the middle of the last century, to become doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers, and priests. Tepoztlán boasts of having produced, within the last fifty years, two governors of the state of Morelos, three justices to the state court, a state senator, and more than half a dozen deputies to the state legislature. Many of these men have kept in touch with their relatives in the village and have been a constant stimulus for culture change.

[159] [185] One of the early Tepoztecans to become a distinguished figure and an important influence in the village was Professor Mariano Jacobo Rojas, who was born in Tepoztlán in 1842. This schoolteacher became a champion of bilingual education

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[28] I am indebted to Dr. Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán for calling to my attention a number of seventeenth-century documents, which indicate the presence of Negroes and mulattoes in Tepoztlán. These documents also show that the Inquisition prosecuted the Negroes for taking *peyote* and for their practices of magic and divination. The following declaration of the Negress Louisa, made available to me by Aguirre Beltrán, is typical: "Asked if she knew or presumed the reason for her being called before the board of Inquisition she said that she presumed that it was to learn what she knew about magic performed by a Negro called Domingo Angola who had fled from the jurisdiction of Zacatecas, and that she, having fled from her master, went to the village of Temimilcingo in the jurisdiction of Cuauhnahuac and there ran across him and was in his company for three months since last July; and in this time she saw many times this Negro Domingo talk to some little sticks or dolls dressed as men and others as women, and the sticks talked to him in the presence of everyone; and we heard that they were speaking in Spanish and in the Congo language and they did no less than dance the dances of both nations and sang songs of both nations, clearly and distinctly, so that all of us heard them; and the dolls asked for food; and food was carried to where they were, and after a little while they said; we have eaten, now you eat; and when it was time to steal they said, go it is time [propitious] to steal now, and when it was not time, and they were asked, they would say, now is not time. This darkie Moreno also had two snakes, one of which he took with him when he was going to steal, and the other was left in the house to guard the clothing and the Negro women. And once when I wanted to flee, the snake grabbed out for my foot and bit me as you can see by the mark it has left (which mark she showed us near the heel bone); and this witness continued to say that the other snake which he took along when he went to steal was of the same size and color as the one at home, about half a *vara* long and of two colors, yellow and black, and she heard say that the snake silenced them (the victims of the robbery?)."

From Archivo General de la Nación, Section on Inquisición, 486.254 (Tepoztlán, 1621). (Courtesy of Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán.)

and had an interview with Emperor Maximilian at Acapantzingo to impress upon 177
him the need for such education in Mexico. In 1878 Rojas was appointed secretary 159
of the Department of Public Education of the state of Morelos by Francisco Leyva,
the first constitutional governor of the state. Later Rojas returned to the village 185
and published a newspaper in Náhuatl called "Xocoyotzin" (*El Menor*), and also a [204]
paper in Náhuatl and Spanish called *El Grano de Arena*. In the eighties he organized
a chapter of the Lancaster Society, an educational society which had been
making inroads in Mexico at the time. Rojas also had many personal contacts with
President Porfirio Díaz, and in 1908 was appointed professor of Náhuatl at the
National Museum of Archaeology.

Shortly before the Revolution, a small Museum of Antiquities was founded in 177
Tepoztlán, a public library was opened, and night classes for adult education were 185
held. This cultural florescence, though short-lived and limited to a small group
of Tepoztecan intellectuals, most of whom came from well-to-do *cacique* families, [517]
earned for Tepoztlán the reputation of being the Athens of Morelos. This group
of intellectuals had considerable influence despite their small number, and were [571]
instrumental in sending many young Tepoztecans to schools outside and in setting
a precedent for higher education which has inspired Tepoztecans to this day.

A landmark in the history of the development of Tepoztlán was the building of 177
the railroad in 1897 through the upper part of the municipio, with a station at 496
El Parque—which is about an hour's climb from the village of Tepoztlán. The
building of the railroad was opposed by most Tepoztecans, and set off a sharp [578]
struggle between the local *caciques* and the population at large who accused the
former of selling out the communal resources to the gringos. Despite this opposition,
Tepoztecans participated in the benefits which came with the building of the [464]
railroad. Many of them worked as day laborers and received the then phenomenal
wage of $1.50 a day, or well over three times the prevailing wages at haciendas. In [465]
addition there were hundreds of laborers from other villages, many of whom came
down to Tepoztlán to buy supplies.

Trade flourished, and it is said that there were more stores and artisans in the
village at that time than in the years between 1920 and 1930. This source of income, [458]
though temporary and favoring primarily the merchants, was one of the factors
which contributed to the cultural florescence which was going on during this time.
Tepoztecans came into contact with laborers from all over Mexico and with Americans.
The first wire fencing and steel plows came into the village with the railroad,
and the advent of freight trains stimulated the charcoal-making industry.

Tepoztlán is typical of another major current in Mexican history, the relationship 423
and the struggles between the so-called free Indian villages and the haciendas. Because
of the marginal location of Tepoztlán to the hacienda area, and because most 464
of its lands were unsuitable for sugar and rice plantations, Tepoztlán managed to
escape the aggrandizement of the haciendas, except for a portion of its southern
lands which were lost to the Hacienda of Oacalco. But while Tepoztlán was able
to retain most of its communal lands since the Conquest, it was close enough to the [177]
haciendas to serve as a convenient source of labor supply, and its economy was
therefore intimately tied up with that of the hacienda system.

177 The Mexican Revolution of 1910-20 was a turning point in the history of
669 Tepoztlán as well as of the nation, and was a major influence in breaking down any
remaining isolation of the village. Tepoztlán was in the heart of Zapatista country,
and few villages suffered greater upheavals. The village was alternately occupied
by opposing Zapatista and federal forces recruited from all parts of the country, and
[144] both left their progeny in the village, further adding to the mixture of physical
types. At one time or another during this period the entire population fled to the
hills or to Mexico City, Guerrero, Puebla, and other parts of the country, and as
a result there is a large proportion of adults who have lived outside of Tepoztlán.

The Revolution also brought about the overthrow of the ruling *cacique* group in
[631] Tepoztlán and a general lessening of social and economic class differences. The
[571] communal lands which had been under the control of local *caciques* were now
[423] freely available to all Tepoztecans. Furthermore, the municipio regained the land
it had lost to a neighboring hacienda and thus participated in the benefits of the
national *ejido* program. In addition, the Revolution has meant a general rise in
the standard of living, the expansion of educational facilities, as well as a weakening
[571] of the older concepts of authoritarianism and a corresponding strengthening of
democratic values.

Tepoztlán mirrors many national trends and brings into sharp focus some of the
171 most pressing problems of Mexico as a nation. The changes which have occurred
177 in Tepoztlán since the Revolution, such as the introduction of corn mills, the build-
ing of modern highways, and the establishment of bus service to Cuernavaca, are
105 typical of changes that are taking place over wide areas throughout Mexico. The
poor agricultural resources, the relative importance of forest and grazing lands in
the agricultural economy, soil erosion and exhaustion, deforestation, the small size
of both private and *ejido* landholdings, population pressure, and low productivity
are among the problems which stand out in Tepoztlán as in the nation. One of the
[121] advantages of studying these problems within the framework of a single municipio
and village is that we can better understand the inter-relationship between geo-
graphic, historic, economic, social, political, and psychological factors; and above
all, it is possible to know better what these problems and changes mean to the
people themselves.

It is important, also, to consider the ways in which Tepoztlán is distinctive. If
171 we compare Tepoztlán with other villages in Mexico, rather than with the nation
105 as a whole, we find that in many ways it is atypical. Tepoztlán is a large village,
larger than ninety per cent of the villages of Mexico, making for a greater com-
plexity of social organization. Tepoztlán has been a political and administrative
center of the municipio since the Conquest and even under Moctezuma; it has re-
tained its communal lands,[29] a long tradition of literacy, and a local intelligentsia

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[114] [29] Simpson, in connection with an otherwise excellent critique of Chase's romantic version of Tepoztlán, has written that Tepoztlán cannot be considered a "typical" Mexican village or municipio because, according to Helen Phipps (*Some Aspects of the Agrarian Question in Mexico —A Historical Study* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1925), p. 120) it was the only village in the entire state of Morelos which maintained its communal lands. It seems to me that Phipps' statement is a considerable exaggeration. At least three of the municipios surrounding Tepoztlán did not lose all of their communal lands before the Revolution; their lands, like those

103 (peak of light), *El Ehecatepetl* (peak of air), *El Cihuapapolotzin* (peak of the
butterfly), *El Tlamintepetl* (peak of the wounded), *El Chalchitepetl* (peak of the
treasure), and *El Ocelotepetl* (peak of the tiger). One of these *cerros* has been an
[172] important archaeological site since 1895, when a stone temple of a Tepoztecan deity
was unearthed. This temple and the great scenic beauty of the village has attracted
[177] many tourists in recent years.

722 The *cerros* which surround the village form a natural fortress, and the rugged
hilly country of which they are a part has served as a refuge from attack at various
[712] times in the history of Tepoztlán and is ideally suited for guerrilla warfare. According to ancient Tepoztecan legend the *cerros* served as defensive outposts
against hostile peoples long before the Conquest. When the Spaniards first came
to the village in 1521, Tepoztecans fled to the *cerros;* and more recently during the
[669] Revolution of 1910-20, when Tepoztlán was the scene of intermittent guerrilla warfare between Zapatista and federal soldiers, Tepoztecans again sought refuge in the
cerros.

132 The location of Tepoztlán in an intermediate position between *tierra fría* and
[137] *tierra caliente* gives it the advantages of an excellent climate and a rich semitropical flora without the disadvantages of the cold to the north or the tropical heat
to the south. Tepoztecans are aware of these advantages and consider themselves

133

Fig. 7. Tepoztlán, seen from cliffs to the north.

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION 131

Tepoztlán has relatively good means of communication. It has a railroad, a 496
modern highway, bus service, mail service, and one telephone. As we have seen 489
earlier, the railroad was built about 1900. The building of the railroad was par-
ticularly significant, for it encouraged the commercial exploitation of certain [206]
natural resources on a scale formerly impossible. The railroad is used primarily [439]
for the transportation of wood and charcoal to Mexico City.

In 1936 the asphalt road connecting Tepoztlán with the Mexico City–Cuernavaca 494
Highway was completed, and shortly thereafter a bus cooperative was organized.[40]
The line was successful and expanded. At present there are two bus lines to [491]
Cuernavaca, both owned and operated by Tepoztecans and in bitter competition
with each other. In 1944 each line operated four buses which ran every hour from
seven in the morning to seven at night, seven days a week. The round-trip fare to
Cuernavaca was 90 centavos. Both lines carried more than 1,600 Tepoztecan pas-
sengers to Cuernavaca and back each week. Four days a week there was an [484]
average of 175 passengers. On Tuesdays and Thursdays, the market days in
Cuernavaca, there was an average of 300 a day, and 300 to 400 on Sundays.

Before the construction of the road, communication between Tepoztlán and 487
surrounding regions was primarily by burro and by foot. The most frequent
trading and social contacts were with Yautepec, about three hours' distance, and 177
with Cuernavaca, about four hours' distance. Since the road has been built it takes 484
about forty-five minutes to Cuernavaca by bus and about twenty minutes by private 131
car. Since the coming of the road, Cuernavaca has replaced Yautepec in im-
portance. This shift is significant because the greater cultural sophistication of
Cuernavaca has accelerated the rate of change in Tepoztlán. The road has had
many other far-reaching effects which will be discussed later.

Tepoztlán has had mail service since 1926, and mail is delivered daily. Red- 205
field reported in 1926 that there was an average of about twelve letters a day, most
of which were for families living in the center. In 1944 there were about thirty
letters daily. This increase was relatively small considering the great increase in
literacy, trade, and population.

Tepoztlán has had a telephone and telegraph since before the Revolution, but 206
the lines have rarely functioned. In the early thirties the telephone was repaired,
but there is little occasion for its use, except for official business. The bus lines have
changed this situation somewhat, for the bus line officials have more frequent [494]
occasion to communicate with Cuernavaca.

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[40] The first bus line was established by a man from Cuernavaca but it was soon taken over by Tepoztecans.

the state of Morelos is excellent and covers all the municipios of the state. Ex- 619
cursions organized by the school give the younger generation an opportunity to 872
know their state.

The proximity of Cuernavaca, the state capital, also plays some part in develop-
ing a consciousness of being Morelenses. In Cuernavaca there are secondary and [873]
preparatory schools to which some Tepoztecan parents send their children, since
the local school reaches only to the sixth grade.

STUDENT SCHOLARSHIPS

Each year the secretary of education makes available a number of student 873
scholarships for advanced study outside the village. About fifty Tepoztecans have 177
received such scholarships during the past fifteen years, and many of these students
have returned to the village to teach or to carry on their work as farmers. The
experience away from home makes for many changes in habits and customs, and
must be reckoned as another source of culture change, though obviously a limited
one.

CULTURAL MISSIONS

Paralleling the work of the school is that of the cultural missions, also a federal 177
service, which travel throughout the country visiting peasant and Indian com-
munities and giving instruction for adults. Tepoztlán has had a cultural mission 658
for two years, and in 1947 the mission worked in one of the surrounding villages
of the municipio. All of the members of the mission were non-Tepoztecans, again
making for increased opportunities to become familiar with customs from different
parts of the country. The mission taught Tepoztecans how to make beds, chairs,
and other furniture; it taught the girls knitting, sewing, and crocheting; it en-
couraged social dancing and sports such as volleyball; it taught the women how to
make inexpensive candies and preserves; it worked on improving the homes by
getting a few families to build privies and to raise the hearth off the floor for more [744]
sanitary cooking. In addition, there was a doctor attached to the mission who ad-
ministered inoculations and gave advice on baby care.

BOOKS AND NEWSPAPERS

Most of the books which reach Tepoztlán are textbooks used in the school. One 872
of the innovations of the Mexican government since the Revolution has been the
elimination of most texts written by foreigners, and the substitution of texts written [619]
by Mexicans, which seek to arouse Mexican nationalism. Stories of the Mexican
Indians have been substituted for those of children of other lands, and national
heroes receive an important place in most texts dealing with history. The secretary
of education has printed millions of copies of history texts which are distributed
free, and some of these books have reached Tepoztecan homes.

Among other publications which occasionally reach Tepoztlán are leaflets put 538
out by the Partido Revolucionario Mexicano (now the Partido Revolucionario 208

The *adultos* consist of married adults and heads of families. Marriage is important 885
as initiating the adult status, and it is the most productive one for both men
and women. The adults are the most important group both economically and politically [581]
and they run the society. If adult males carry most of the responsibilities, [562]
they also enjoy many privileges. They may smoke and drink, have affairs with
women, beat their wives, and otherwise exercise male prerogatives. These prerogatives [882]
are not supposed to apply to unmarried youths, but when young men
begin to get drunk and run around with women, it is said that they "are becoming
men."

The status of the aged is, theoretically, one of great respect. Old men and women 888
can address anyone in the familiar *tú* and in return are to be addressed by *Vd.* But [195]
sometimes the more endearing *abuelito* or *papacito* is used. To contradict an
anciano and certainly to beat an old man is an outrage; "it is like beating your own
father." The status of the aged, however, is by no means an enviable one, particularly
when old people can no longer support themselves. Children are supposed to
support aged parents but there are cases of extreme neglect and the theme, "I would
rather die than depend upon my children" is frequently heard. The old people do
not take part in politics and in general do not have positions of leadership. Because [177]
of the rapidly changing culture, the *ancianos* are out of step with the times. Many
speak Spanish poorly and have difficulty even in communicating with their grandchildren.
In some cases the younger generation, particularly those who have been
away to school, are embarrassed by the old-fashioned dress, speech, and manners
of their grandparents.

RACE

Race is not an important factor in status in Tepoztlán, and racial prejudice hardly 563
exists. Although Tepoztecans are quite sensitive to color differences, there are no 196
distinct racial groups as such recognized in the village. The three distinctions most
commonly made are *blanco, prieto,* and *indio.* The *blancos* are those with light [826]
skin and light eyes, characteristics which are definitely favored. The *prietos* are
those with dark skin. The term *indio* has various connotations. Sometimes it is used
as the equivalent of *campesino* as opposed to the city man; thus it may be said,
"Here in Tepoztlán we are all *indios* and we get along on very little, whereas the
city people are very demanding." At other times the word *indio* is used to designate
low socio-cultural status, "el pobre, como es indito, no sabe ni siquiera hablar bien"
(because the poor thing is Indian he can't even speak well). In this sense, many
refer to the inhabitants of the smaller and poorer barrios of San Pedro, Los Reyes,
and San Sebastián as *indios. Indio* is also used as a term of criticism in reference [577]
to one who has poor self-control and is capable of violence. Thus Tepoztecans will
say, "In Amatlán they are very Indian, if one is not careful he may be assassinated."

Basically, the term "Indian" is used to designate social status rather than physical [554]
type. A wealthy dark person who dresses in city style may not be considered *blanco,*
but neither will he be called *indio.* On the other hand, a rich person who continues

423 terests of a small clique within that village. The schisms created by this cooperative
631 within the village and the municipio will be treated later in this study.

628 These facts indicate the strong individualism of the villagers, and the interesting
578 way in which new contacts with the outside and production for the market have
disrupted the earlier stability of the municipio. As long as production of charcoal
[474] was primarily for household use, there seemed to be no conflict between collective
[314] ownership and individual exploitation of the resources. As a matter of fact, the
[177] communal lands have been one of the few unifying factors in the life of the municipio and have brought the villagers together to defend their lands in the face of threats from the outside. However, with commercial exploitation of the limited communal resources, competition became intense, and the concept of communal land ownership by the municipio was attacked.

PRIVATE HOLDINGS

423 As we have indicated earlier, private landholdings include most of the lands for
175 plow agriculture; that is, most of the level lands. The only other privately owned lands are the house sites in the village, most of which include some ground for a garden and for some corn plantings. The history of private landholdings is not very clear. Certainly we know that private holdings have existed at least since the time of the Conquest. Whether or not it existed in Tepoztlán before the Conquest cannot be determined, but, judging from the data for other parts of Mexico, it is probable that private holdings coexisted with other holdings. Much of the land that is now privately owned, approximately one hundred hectares of the most productive lands of the municipio, once belonged to the church. This land was divided into private holdings after the Revolution of 1857. Most of the landowners now have
423 some document to prove title; but there are still many individuals who work plots of land which have been passed down from family to family without any written proof of ownership.

[556] The ownership of land is one of the basic aspirations of Tepoztecan peasants, and
land-ownership is perhaps their most important single criterion of wealth. The
[183] value put on land-ownership is reflected, in part, by the fact that farmers, artisans, and merchants invest in land whenever they have the necessary capital and the opportunity. But there is no concentration of land-ownership in the hands of a few.
[432] There are several reasons for this. Few people in Tepoztlán will sell tillable land, and when they do they prefer to sell to close relatives. On the whole there is little land turnover. Tepoztecans with sufficient capital to purchase large quantities of
[422] land do not do so, because they seek more profitable kinds of investments, generally in cattle. The high cost of labor and the low and uneven yields in plow
[243] agriculture make corn production for commercial purposes unprofitable.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIVATE HOLDINGS

[183] According to our findings, only 36 per cent or 311 of the 853 families in the village own private land. Thus, in a village where the family ideal is to own a plot

241 erally speaking, the tools and techniques used in *tlacolol* are still known by their
Náhuatl names, whereas in plow culture Spanish names prevail. Still another dif-
ference results from the location of the lands involved. (See Fig. 22.) With few
exceptions the privately owned land used for plow culture is much closer to the vil-
[512] lage than the *tlacolol* land. *Tlacololeros* generally rise at 4:00 A.M., travel about
two to three hours to reach their fields, and return home a few hours later than
plow culture farmers. The building of the road directly through the privately
[494] owned lands has made this contrast sharper. It is not uncommon for some Tepozte-
[484] can farmers to take the bus to their milpa. *Tlacololeros*, however, always walk or
go by burro. (See Fig. 23.)

241 *PLOW CULTURE*

407 The basic tools of production in plow culture are the ax, plow, machete, and iron
hoe. Two types of plows are used: the *arado criollo* (wooden plow) and the *arado*
● 177 *polco* (steel plow). The wooden plow (Fig. 24) was introduced by the Spaniards
[412] shortly after the Conquest; the first steel plow (Fig. 25) came into the village
toward the latter part of the nineteenth century after the railroad had been built
through the upper portion of the municipio. Before the Revolution of 1910-20 the
steel plow was used only by a few families, and, as late as 1926-27, Redfield reported
only a few steel plows.[4] However, by the early thirties plows became more widely
used, and in 1943 most farmers used steel plows in addition to wooden plows, each
being used for different operations. In 1943, approximately 213 families owned
[422] their plows. This number represented only 48 per cent of the families in the vil-
lage who owned land. In other words, 52 per cent of the landowners lacked one
of the basic tools for plow culture.

407 The wooden plows are made locally by several men who specialize in this work,
and the cost of the wooden plow is comparatively inexpensive. However, the
435 prices of both the steel and wooden plow have increased in recent years, so that
[322] now considerable capital is needed to purchase a steel plow. (See Table 27.)

TABLE 27. Cost of Plows, in Pesos.

Year	Wooden Plow	Steel Plow
1926	3.00	—
1935	5.50	14.00
1940	7.50	18.00
1942	—	30.00
1944	12.00	40.00

492 The precise date of the introduction of oxen to Tepoztlán is not known, but they
[177] have been used in the village since long before the Revolution. (See Fig. 26.) Most

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[4] "The ground is prepared with a wooden plow. For new-broken or very strong earth there are a few steel plowshares." Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 122.

occupation. The informant worked for ten days: three days in felling trees and 314
cutting up the wood, one day in collecting the wood at one spot, one day in making 433
the kiln, four days and nights in watching the kiln, and one day in taking off the
dirt and putting the charcoal into sacks. The yield was 18 sacks or 9 *cargas* of 461
charcoal. Each *carga* sold at 13 pesos, yielding 117 pesos. From this sum the in- [435]
formant had to pay 2 pesos a *carga* for transportation to Cuernavaca and 1½ pesos
a *carga* for tax, totaling 31½ pesos, leaving him 85½ pesos for ten days' work. [651]
Since daily wages in agriculture at the time were about 4½ pesos, the income from [434]
charcoal is considered good in Tepoztlán. But charcoal burning is thought of as
dirty work, and it ranks very low in prestige, being identified as a last occupational [735]
resort of the poor. Nevertheless, some well-to-do families in the outlying barrios
spend part of their time in burning charcoal.

Until 1947, most of the charcoal in Tepoztlán was transported by burro to 314
Yautepec. Since that time the bus line has agreed to transport charcoal, so that
much of it now goes to Cuernavaca. The price of transport in 1948 was 2 pesos a 494
carga. Occasionally a truck from Mexico City or Cuernavaca comes into Tepoztlán 439
to transport charcoal.

CIRUELAS—HOG PLUMS

The *ciruela* is now an important cash crop in Tepoztlán, and according to in-
formants it was introduced into Tepoztlán in 1865. There was little interest until 245
it was discovered that the *ciruela* was pleasant to eat, and more trees were planted. [177]

The *ciruela* can be easily propagated by cuttings. All that is necessary is to prepare a hole some 30 x 30 cms. wide and about 70 cms. deep and to place in it a branch from the mother tree—a branch 2 to 3 meters long and 5 to 10 cms. in diameter. The hole is then filled with soil and tightly packed. Cuttings may be made at any time of the year with good results. The only precaution necessary is to see that the cuttings are not disturbed while they are rooting, lest the young roots be broken. The trees begin producing in from 3 to 4 years, and production increases as the trees grow. Trees grow to a huge size. (See Fig. 32.)

Ciruelas first became a cash crop in Tepoztlán about 1901, or shortly after the 439
railroad was built through the municipio. But transporting the *ciruelas*, by mule
to the railroad and then by rail to Mexico City, incurred great expense and delay. [494]
Irregular train schedules often caused the fruit to spoil. After the highway was
built, merchants from Mexico City and Cuernavaca sent their trucks to Tepoztlán
during harvest, and the cash crop value of the *ciruelas*, transported in this way,
increased. They are packed in wooden boxes known as *guacales*. Each *guacal* con-
tains about nine gross of *ciruelas*. The price of a *guacal* in October, 1943, was six [435]
pesos. It is estimated that Tepoztlán exports about 7,000 *guacales* a year, a total [433]
crop value of about 42,000 pesos.

Prices are fixed by merchants from Cuernavaca and Mexico City. The merchants [435]
get together and decide among themselves what they will pay per gross for the
fruit. Mexico City is the principal market.

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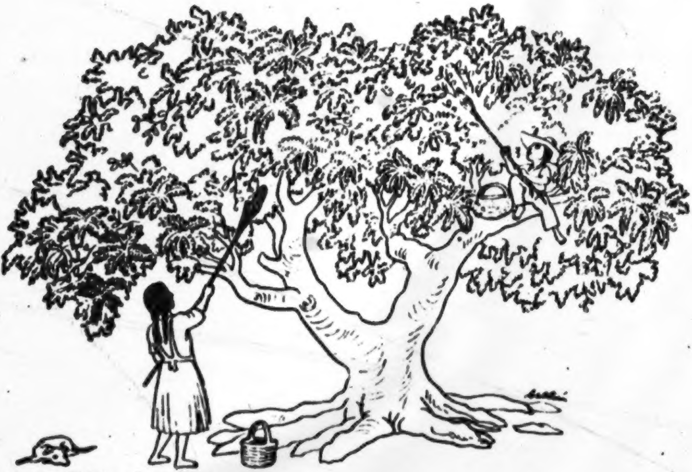

Fig. 32. Picking hog plums.

ROPEMAKING

Ropemaking, like charcoal burning, is limited to the smaller upper barrios of the village, and is concentrated in the barrio of San Sebastián where ten families engage in this occupation during the dry slack season. All of these families are in the lower economic level of the village, so ropemaking is also an occupation of the poor.

283
[621]
[735]

According to local tradition, ropemaking was introduced into the village about 1883 by a man from Ajuchitlán who came to live in the barrio of San Sebastián.[8] It is interesting that in all the years since then, there has been little spread of ropemaking to other parts of the village, and there has been little change in the techniques employed, except that the ropes have become much longer. In 1890 ropes only 12 varas long were made. Now Tepoztecans make ropes 24 and 30 varas long.

[177]
[178]

Ropemaking is a family affair; it takes two or three persons for the major operation, twisting. Most of the *ixtle* fiber is obtained from the maguey plants which grow on the *cerros* of the communal lands. But only about half of the families who make rope gather their own *ixtle* fiber; the others buy it.

[314]

The maguey plant is beaten with a special tool which breaks up the plant so that the fibers can be extracted. The fiber is then soaked overnight. The fiber is spun on a simple spinning device and is then ready for the rope twisting process. This is done on a rather complicated homemade device shown in Fig. 33.

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[8] Although we have no evidence as to whether ropemaking as it is now known existed in pre-Hispanic Tepoztlán, it is probable that some type of cordage was known and used in connection with weaving.

Cuernavaca and other large towns, and the exchange and barter of goods between 438
families in the village. Changes in the means of communication within the last 439
twenty years have made some of these factors more important than others. In [443]
general, the effect of the road to Tepoztlán has been to weaken the local market,
to increase the importance of stores and trade relations with Cuernavaca, to decrease [177]
the extent of inter-village trade within the municipio, and to abolish completely
earlier trade relations with other villages of the region.

The market days in Tepoztlán are Wednesday and Sunday. As in Redfield's [443]
time, vendors from the satellite villages and from more distant localities gather in
the central plaza where they offer their wares. Merchants from Cuernavaca,
Toluca, and Mexico City may be seen occasionally. Some come by foot in the
old tradition, others by bus, and others with their own cars.

The old tradition, as reported by Redfield, whereby each of the seven villages of 178
the municipio had its customary place in the market, is still remembered and followed. 443
But it is only on a rare occasion that vendors from all the villages are
present on the same market day. During the greater part of the year, vendors [438]
from only two or three of the villages come. (See Fig. 34.) By comparison with a
market in an Oaxacan town of equal size, the Tepoztecan market is indeed

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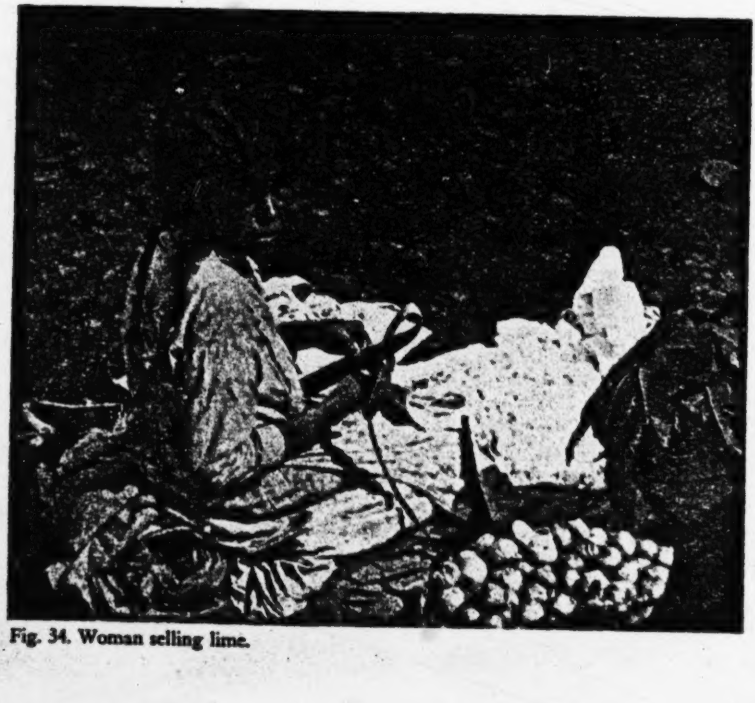

Fig. 34. Woman selling lime.

443 178 [438] "raquítico," as the Tepoztecans would say. Furthermore, the quality of the local fruits and other goods is poor and, unlike other Mexican villages, little care is given to display. There is also little variety of goods, and it is difficult to predict what will be available from one market day to another. In short, the market at Tepoztlán shows symptoms of decline.

[438] [439] In addition to the market days, there are permanent stores in the plaza. As has been indicated earlier, their number has increased and they have spread to the outlying barrios. The stores sell most of the daily household necessities and have a fairly stable clientele. Most sales are in small quantities because of the Tepoztecan custom of running to the store once or twice a day. But Tepoztecans are going to Cuernavaca more and more, and are making larger purchases; this has been a blow to local tradesmen who cannot compete with the Cuernavaca stores and market.

[438] [452] Itinerant merchants who peddle through the village streets come with a wide variety of goods, such as blankets, *petates*, palm-bottomed chairs, sweets, and clothing. In recent years these merchants have introduced selling on the installment plan, and make collections on their rounds.

[437] [465] Goods are also circulated by barter between families, although this is declining. Corn may be exchanged for eggs or other food. Corn is still used as payment for wages or for the services of *curanderos*, especially when small sums are involved.

439 [433] Most Tepoztecan produce is sold outside the village, primarily in Cuernavaca. It is estimated that Tepoztecans sell approximately 1,000 *cargas* of corn per year. Many poor people complain that they have to go to Cuernavaca to purchase corn because none is available locally. Other Tepoztecan cash crops, charcoal and *ciruelas*, are also sold outside the village; charcoal goes to Yautepec and Cuernavaca, and *ciruelas* go to Cuernavaca and Mexico City.

[669] [177] Before the Revolution, Tepoztecans' trade relations spread over a wide area ranging from southern Jojutla, Guerrero, Ozumba in the Federal District, Puebla, Xochimilco, and Mexico City. Indigo was sold to Puebla, which, in turn, supplied dried fish. Merchants made frequent trips to Mexico City by foot, and the following account from an informant, aged 67, gives some idea of the role of the merchant and middleman in Tepoztlán before the Revolution.

> [438] My father was a farmer, a butcher, and a tradesman. He worked his fields and slaughtered pigs which he sold to the neighboring villages of the municipio, but especially in San Andrés and Gabriel Mariaca. Later he would go to the southern part of the state of Morelos to buy up fruit and send it to Mexico City where he would live for a portion of the year to sell the fruit. He would leave Tepoztlán in April or May. He returned here in early June to plant and remained here in June, July, August, and September. At the end of September he returned to Mexico City until November. After All Saints' Day he would return for the harvest.
>
> [484] My father went to Mexico City on foot, and the trip took all day. We would leave the village about 6:00 A.M., arrive at Xochimilco at 5:00 or 5:30 P.M. The route was as follows: first to San Juan, then to a rancho called Oshokiah, in the mountains; from Oshokiah to

San Pablo Ozozapec. Here we stopped to have lunch and then continued to San Salvador, 439
then down to San Andrés Agueyuc, then to San Lorenzo, then to Xochimilco. By 5:30 [484]
P.M., we were generally at the place in Xochimilco when the canoes left. If there were no canoes we walked all night. We generally arrived in Mexico City the following morning and took our fruit to the market.

Some inter-village trade still occurs at the time of fiestas and village *ferias*. However, [438]
Tepoztecan trading contacts seem to have become limited for the most part
to Cuernavaca. Yautepec, at one time the key market for much of Tepoztecan produce, [177]
has now faded in comparison with the role of Cuernavaca.

The circulation of goods and money in Tepoztlán is generally small, but it varies 458
considerably with the seasonal cycles. It is lowest during the months of May, June, July, and August, which is a period of scarcity. The most rapid circulation of goods and the greatest volume of money transactions occur after the plum harvest in September and October, and again after the corn and bean harvest in December and January. Money from plums is generally used to buy new clothing for the family.

Perhaps the most important single occasion for spending during the year is at 527
the Carnaval, which comes in February after the harvest. I have estimated that
approximately 50,000 pesos are spent by the villagers for the Carnaval. It is an 458
occasion for buying new clothes, but the largest expense is for the elaborate
costumes of the Chinelo dancers. A costume in 1947 cost as much as 800 pesos, [535]
and there were 45 dancers from the three competing barrios. Of course most of the [435]
costumes are used from year to year, but there is always the expense of repairing [427]
and improving them. Some people rent the costumes. The food expense is also great; musicians from each of the competing barrios are fed by the leading families in the barrio. In addition, most families entertain on this day.

The tourist trade has brought some income to Tepoztlán, especially to storekeepers, 457
vendors of soft drinks, and the owners of the two tourist houses, but most 485
of the money spent by these Tepoztecans goes to Cuernavaca.

The other important occasions for spending in Tepoztlán are the barrio fiestas,
the gifts for *compadres* at baptisms, the expenses of the groom in weddings, and 458
the expenses for the wakes and funerals.

There are a few corn merchants in the village who speculate in corn by buying 442
in small quantities throughout the year to sell at higher prices during June to
September. Speculation in corn is apparently an old practice in the village, for as [455]
early as 1579 we find complaints of Tepoztecans against price fixing by local
politicians. Some of the corn merchants will make loans on the future corn crop and [426]
will be paid back in corn at the time of harvest.

CREDIT, LOANS, AND INTEREST

There are no organized credit facilities in Tepoztlán. Although a few hundred 452
Tepoztecans have had *ejido* parcels since 1930, no *ejido* credit has come to the village. It is said that an effort had been made at one time to obtain such credit but

(40–99); and 4.4 per cent are in the upper group (100–407.4). The lowest group 511
can be broken down into three subgroups: those with 0 score, from 1–19 and 20–39, 556
which we shall call I–A, I–B, and I–C, respectively. The middle group will be referred to as II. The upper group will be III–A (100–159) and III–B (160 and over).

To test the validity of our groupings, we asked ten informants to name the ten
wealthiest families in the village. All those named were in our top group. Another [128]
way in which we checked our scale was to present names selected from each of the economic levels of the scale and ask informants to rank them according to their wealth. Again we found a very high correlation.

What are the characteristics of each of these economic groups? First let us con- 434
sider the families with zero scores. For the most part they are either young married
men, most of whom live with their parents, who also have low scores; or they are 511
widows or old men, many of whom live alone. One-third of this group are women 556
who manage to earn a living by small-scale trade and by doing odd jobs.

Groups I-A and I-B, which consist of 511 families with scores 0-19, contain 97 735
per cent of the landless people in the village. Three hundred and fifty-four, or 70 per cent, of the families in this group have zero scores for land. How do these landless people live? Approximately one-third depend upon *tlacolol*, but all depend upon a variety of activities which together provide a meager income. Many burn charcoal, sell wood, work as peons, are small traders, or have some other part-time occupation. They have some measure of security in that most of them own their houses and house sites or will inherit them. About one-third have hogs. Less than one-third own a mule, horse, or donkey.

The 119 families in Group II include most of the artisans and merchants as well 511
as better-to-do farmers. The former are the most acculturated group in the village.
They are the ones who wear ready-made clothes, send their children out of Tepoz- 556
tlán to high school, and generally have a higher standard of living. [177]

Group III consists of 38 families, all of whom have high scores on land, cattle, or both. About one-half of these families have inherited their land from wealthy relatives who before the Revolution were *caciques* and dominated the village. The other half have worked their way up to their present position.

We might ask whether there is any relationship between position on this scale and standard of living. Do the wealthiest people have the highest standard of living? On the whole, the people in Group III consume more meat, milk, eggs, and bread, and they generally live in better constructed and better furnished houses, some of which have running water. But they are not the ones who go in for modern dress or any ostentatious spending for comforts or luxuries. They are a hard-working people and not a leisure class. One of the distinguishing characteristics of this group is that they generally have hired men all year around, but, with the exception of two men, they work side by side with their peons.

What is the relationship between wealth and the adoption of new traits? The [177]
Mexican Census of 1940 included three interesting items which provide us with

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some data on acculturation in relation to standard of living. The questions were: Do you eat bread (as against tortillas)? Do you wear shoes (as against going barefoot or wearing huaraches)? Do you sleep on a bed or a cot (as against sleeping on the ground or on a *tepexco*, a raised frame upon which the *petate* is placed)?

From a special tabulation of the census of Tepoztlán, we were able to correlate the responses to these questions with the family position on the economic scale. The results are shown in Table 46.

TABLE 46. Distribution of Acculturated Habits by Economic Groups.

Group	Per Cent Who Eat Bread	Per Cent Who Wear Shoes	Per Cent Who Sleep on Beds or Cots
I-A and I-B	23.20	6.46	14.12
I-C	32.30	6.78	23.18
II	50.82	12.06	30.71
III-A	41.55	7.14	21.42
III-B	57.69	5.12	16.66
Total	41.11	7.51	21.22

It is clear that eating bread correlates positively with economic position. Thus, 23 per cent of the people in Groups I-A and I-B, as compared with 57 per cent of the people in Group III-B, ate bread. Furthermore, we know from our observation that the wealthier people do eat bread more often and in greater quantities; bread is still a luxury in this village. [262]

Wearing shoes and sleeping in beds do not correlate with wealth, but rather with age. That is, the older people, rich or poor, prefer to use huaraches or go barefoot, and to sleep on the traditional *petate* or on a *tepexco*. We have here a nice example of the factor of selectivity in the adoption of new traits. Families who do not use shoes or beds will often buy sewing machines.

It should be noted that a larger percentage of Group II have adopted new traits, even though their economic resources are less than those of Group III. Table 47 shows the frequency distribution of the age of heads of families by economic categories.

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TABLE 47. Age Distribution of Heads of Families by Economic Group.

Group	Years of Age				
	Less Than 29	30–49	50–69	70–99	Total
I-A	31	31	18	12	92
I-B	63	194	132	30	419
I-C	6	88	77	14	185
II	3	46	52	18	119
III-A	0	9	15	1	25
III-B	0	1	11	1	13
Total	103	369	305	76	853

556 669 when they were able to buy land at low prices from hungry and half-starved villagers. The chaotic conditions during the Revolution, and the burning of the local archives and property registers, enabled some families to obtain land by devious methods. When the *caciques* fled the village, their lands were cultivated by the poorer families who remained. For the most part, however, these lands were returned to the owners or their heirs when they came back after peace had been established. In some poor families in which the head of the family was killed in the Revolution, the widows lost their land because they could show no legal title and were too poor to fight the cases in the courts.

556 Perhaps the most important ways in which families have obtained their wealth since the Revolution are through hard work, thrift, and self-denial over many years, and through the purchase and sale of cattle. Cattle trips to Guerrero and southern Morelos immediately after the Revolution were dangerous, and only those with courage, initiative, and a little capital went. In regard to self-denial, it is a common saying in Tepoztlán that the rich are the most miserly and thrifty. The terms *codo* (stingy) and *miserable* are often applied to the rich by their poorer neighbors. It should also be noted that in practically all cases of better-to-do families, the wife has been a hard worker and a good manager and has played a crucial part in aiding the family.

[558] Movement down the economic ladder is occasioned by a number of factors. The fact that property is divided more or less equally among all the children makes it difficult for the same family to maintain its high position from one generation to another, although the sons of such families have an obvious advantage over the sons of landless families. But there are also other factors. Illness, lack of thrift, or poor management may result in a rapid loss of resources. Well-to-do families are [626] also subject to some pressure from the community to participate in the fiesta life, and some of the wealthier families spend more heavily on costumes for the Carnaval and accept the job of barrio *mayordomo*, which always entails expenses. But as a rule it is the families of the middle group that go in for this type of spending.

HOUSING AND HOUSE FURNISHINGS

342 511 [177] The houses of Tepoztlán are essentially of three types, the primitive *jacal*, the adobe house, and the more substantial dwellings found in the center of the village. The *jacal* and the adobe house are basically Indian, and the houses in the center show more of the Spanish influence.

The *jacal* is the poorest type of house in Tepoztlán and is considered primitive and extremely undesirable by the majority of the population. (See Fig. 35.) It is a flimsy structure of cornstalks or *otate* (Mexican bamboo), with thatched roof and earthen floor that give insufficient protection against cold, wind, and rain. The roof is apt to be gabled, in contrast with the one-sided sloping roof that is common in the village. The *jacal* is relatively infrequent in Tepoztlán and makes up less [621] than 5 per cent of all dwellings; it is almost entirely limited to the smaller, outlying barrios, particularly in the upper part of the village. The *jacal* is far more

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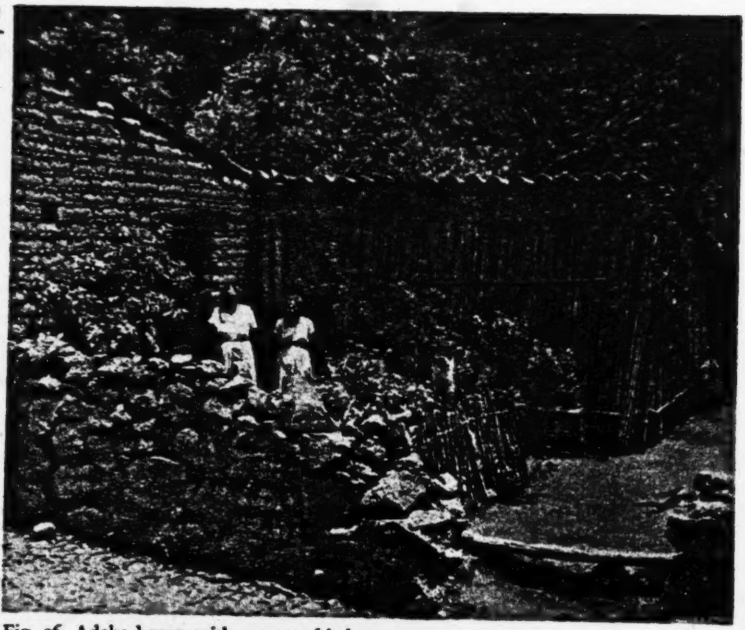


Fig. 36. Adobe house, with separate kitchen.

342 511 since it increases living space and may be used as kitchen, sleeping room, work room, and for storage. The porch usually consists of an extension of the house roof supported by columns of adobe brick. There may be a low wall connecting the columns, and the porch may be enclosed by Mexican bamboo.

One of the common characteristics of the *jacal* and adobe house in Tepoztlán is that they are detached type dwellings, generally built within a patio or yard and set off from the street by a low stone wall or terrace. This is especially true in the smaller barrios where there is more space.

In sharp contrast with the *jacal* and adobe houses are the few but striking homes of former *caciques* or of wealthier families of the center barrios. (See Fig. 37.) [177] These houses invariably show marked Spanish or modern urban influence, and several of them border on elegance. They are large and imposing, and surrounded by an outer wall, built flush with the street, in which glass-paned windows and small balconies of iron grillwork are set. The roofs are of tile and slope from the street side inward, so that the outer wall is higher than the inner one and makes the house appear tall. Sometimes a high stone or plastered wall shields the house from the street and opens into the patio by means of a massive wooden door, or *zaguán*. Other houses have more elegant exteriors of one or more arches and col-

312 and although this is the traditional and common practice, it is now considered a
real hardship by more and more families. The quantity of water consumed by a
511 family is usually determined by the amount of labor it can devote to water-carrying,
and many families limit their use of water for bathing, for plants and animals, and
for laundry. Use of the public laundry, generally considered undesirable, is made of
[296] necessity by many. The few families with water piped into their patios invariably
[351] have flourishing flower, fruit, and vegetable gardens. These families are very much
envied, and not infrequently their water pipes are deliberately stuffed or damaged
[578] by less fortunate neighbors.

The benefits of toilets are not as generally recognized, and only one private home
514 and the two tourist houses have toilets that can be flushed. The new schoolhouse,
[485] however, has toilets and showers, and the younger generation is becoming accustomed to their use. The schoolteachers, the students who have been away to
[177] boarding schools, and the not insignificant number of Tepoztecans who have spent
time in Mexico City are also familiar with the use of toilets and will undoubtedly be among the first to install them in their dwellings in the future. Some already have constructed screens around their latrines in their yards or orchards to afford some privacy.

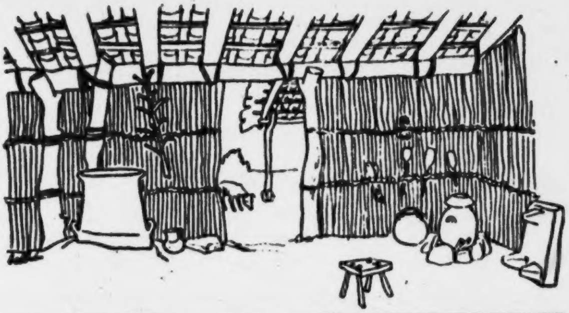
515 Bathing facilities for women and children generally consist of a clay or tin basin
at home; the men and older boys bathe in the river. Many women bathe and wash their hair when they do their laundry in a stream or at the public washing place.

354 No Tepoztecan house has any means of heating other than the kitchen fire.
This, however, gives little heat and is extinguished as soon as cooking is com-
511 pleted, to save fuel. In the winter months the family generally retires earlier to keep
[513] warm, but since most families have a minimum number of blankets, there is
probably some suffering during the night due to cold. Except for early morning, the days are warm all the year round.

There are various means of lighting the house after dark, the most common and inexpensive being candles. Some homes have kerosene lamps and a few of the houses and stores in the center have Coleman gasoline lamps. One Tepoztecan
[377] house—that of the prosperous curer, Don Chucho—has electricity which is operated by a privately owned generator. There is talk of installing electricity in the plaza and in the church and chapels near the center, and it is probably only a matter of time before this is done.

177 Differences in house furnishings are even more striking than differences in
house types, and there is an unending variety of combinations of new and old or
352 modern and primitive household items. It is not at all unusual to find under one
511 roof a battery-operated radio, a pre-Hispanic hearth as the only means of cooking,
a hand mill for grinding coffee, and the Indian stone *metate* for grinding corn. Modern equipment for cooking, serving, sleeping, lighting, and so forth, is with few exceptions greatly esteemed; and in the majority of families only lack of money prevents its purchase. Among the youth, the more educated, and the large middle economic group, there is a strong desire to live better and to invest

in household comforts. On the other hand, many of the older generation, even 177
those with means, scorn innovations and prefer to live the way they have always 352
lived, investing what surplus they have in land and cattle. The use of modern 511
household equipment correlates more with age and education than with wealth.
On the whole, we find modern equipment more frequently in the homes of [454]
families with a medium income. In the homes of the better-to-do there is almost [556]
always a greater quantity of household goods, whether primitive or modern.



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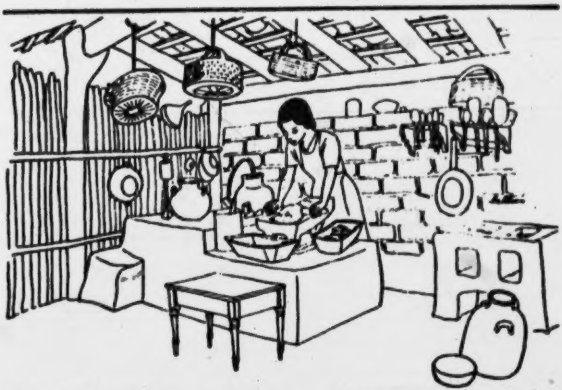
Kitchen in poor home.

Fig. 38.



Kitchen in well-to-do home.

Wealthier families generally own enough plates, pots, glasses, spoons, chairs, etc., [556]
to be able to serve fiesta meals to a large number of people without having to [426]
borrow, as do so many other Tepoztecan families.

The four features mentioned by Redfield as being inevitably present in the
Tepoztecan kitchen of 1926-27 are still found, though with some modifications.[3]
(Fig. 38 illustrates the contrast between kitchens in a well-to-do and a poor home.)
These features are the hearth, the griddle, the grinding stone, and the pot Today 000

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[3] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 35.

252 almost every house has a hearth made of three stones set in a triangle, or of stones
511 plastered in the shape of a horseshoe, to support the griddle. It is no longer always
354 located on the floor, but is frequently raised to almost table-height by means of a
cement platform. The use of platforms has been stimulated by the cultural missions
[177] that have visited the village and demonstrated to the more interested and
[658] enterprising women some ways of improving their homes. The *brasero,* a raised clay
stove with two or three charcoal-burning iron grates on top, is generally still
[556] found only in better-to-do homes and is used sparingly or only for preparing fiesta
meals. The *comal* (griddle), which in Redfield's time was always clay, is now
252 frequently iron, and many families own one of each type. Though the *comal* is
571 still an indispensable utensil in every home, the increasing consumption of bread,
[415] especially for breakfast and supper, makes it somewhat less used than formerly.
The same is true of the *metate* (grinding stone), since almost all women now have
[412] their corn ground at the mill. But every home has one or more *metates* for
regrinding mill-ground corn and for emergencies. *Metates* are also used for coffee
[256] and for large quantities of chile for fiestas. Despite the commercial mills, no
Tepoztecan woman would set up housekeeping without her own *metate.* Finally,
[415] the *olla,* mentioned by Redfield, is the clay pot in which the maize for tortillas is
cooked. To this utensil must be added the pot for beans, another for coffee, and
another for meat. Most families have one large pot to retain the water in which
maize has been soaked and cooked, and the water needed to moisten the woman's
[231] hands as she makes tortillas. This water, which contains some nourishment, is then
fed to the pigs.

571 The remaining house furnishings are relatively few; they consist mainly of
sleeping equipment, religious articles, and various containers for storage. For
513 sleeping there are three kinds of beds: the *petate* or straw mat placed on the floor;
[352] the *tepexco,* a raised bed of bamboo sticks tied together and placed on a wooden
frame or on two sawhorses; and a brass or iron bedstead with metal springs over
which a *petate,* rather than a mattress, is generally placed. The great majority of
the population sleep either on the floor or on the *tepexco,* and only 19.29 per cent
sleep on a bed or cot.[4] The proportion of those who sleep on a bed or cot for Mexico
as a whole is far greater (61.1 per cent), and even for communities of 10,000 or
less inhabitants it is 53.4 per cent.[5]

The majority of Tepoztecans sleep on the floor because they lack the funds to
buy beds, but most of the older generation, regardless of their economic status,
[177] sleep that way by preference. Many an acculturated family has sought without
success to accustom the old mother or grandmother to sleeping on a bed. Some old
[753] people are afraid of falling off during the night, others say that to sleep off the
ground is to be more subject to *los aires* (evil winds). One old woman told her
grandchildren that it is better to sleep on the floor because it is closer to mother

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[4] This figure was derived from a special tabulation of census data for Tepoztlán taken from the Mexican Census of 1940.

[5] Whetten, *Rural Mexico,* p. 291.

262 provide food elements which the Tepoztecan diet would otherwise lack, since there
is little cultivation of leafy green vegetables. But it is impossible to determine to
222 what extent wild greens are consumed, because they are considered very poor fare,
[244] and Tepoztecans do not readily admit eating them. During times of scarcity a
large number of families eat wild greens in quantity several times a week, and the
[735] chronically poor eat them regularly throughout the year. During the Revolution
many families escaped starvation by subsisting almost entirely on wild plants. The
[722] names of most of these plants are native Indian terms, and are as follows:

quintoniles
verdolaga
tesquite
pipitacos
papalo
chipiles
tequesquite
quelites

[272] Violets boiled with *tequesquite* are also eaten. The herbs are well-known spices,
and medicinal grasses or leaves are used to make a variety of teas.

262 Additional fruits and vegetables are brought in by traveling merchants or are
purchased in the large market in Cuernavaca. However, most of these are expensive
[439] and only the few well-to-do families of Tepoztlán can afford to purchase them more
[556] or less regularly. Foods not locally produced and commonly purchased in the stores
of Tepoztlán, Yautepec, Cuernavaca, or Mexico City are bread,[7] sugar, salt, rice,
262 certain types of chile and beans, noodles, and dried codfish. Chocolate is also purchased but is considered a luxury. Foods which are slowly becoming more popular
177 but which are still purchased by a small minority are evaporated and powdered
[439] milk, canned sardines, tomato herring, or other fish.

The eating of white bread made of wheat flour is of particular interest in Mexico,
since it is a relatively new trait and one which has been taken to indicate the degree
of acculturation of individuals and groups. In Tepoztlán, bread is considered a very
desirable food; and often the social and economic status of a family is judged in
[556] terms of the amount of bread that it consumes. From the Mexican Census of 1940,
which included a question designed to estimate the number of persons who eat
bread fairly regularly, we learned that over 31 per cent of the population of Tepoztlán eat bread. At present there is scarcely a family that does not eat some bread during the week or month, though it may be but once or twice. It is especially favored
[855] as a food for very small children, and even the poorest family seeks to provide a
[735] piece of bread daily for its youngest child. There is no indication, however, that
bread will eventually displace the tortilla; at most, bread consumption among well-
[556] to-do families may represent about 10 per cent of the total food expenditure.

There is, of course, much variation in the actual consumption of food. Except
262 among the wealthier families, irregularity in diet is characteristic throughout the
[556] year, and few families maintain a uniformly good diet from day to day even according to local standards. The type and quantity of food consumed is determined by
the season, the fiesta calendar, and, most of all, the amount of cash on hand. "When

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[7] Bread is baked locally, but wheat flour is purchased outside.

Dinner, the most substantial meal, is eaten in the middle of the day whenever possible. It may consist of beans, tortilla, and chile. A good dinner, according to the Tepoztecan view, should include meat cooked with some vegetables, a bowl of rice or noodles cooked in broth, and the inevitable beans, tortilla, and chile. Coffee may or may not be taken at the end of dinner. Supper generally consists of coffee and tortillas or bread, with perhaps a piece of cheese. 264 [272]

Variety is provided by changing the type of meat or by using fish and by varying the vegetables. Fruit, peanuts, sugar cane, candies, cookies, and other sweets are eaten between meals and are generally not regarded as food to be included in a meal. The taste for sweets is developing among the children, particularly school children, and they are becoming more demanding of their parents in this respect. [177]

To get a better notion of the quantities of food consumed, as well as of the variety, we will examine a typical weekly food budget of a well-to-do family and of a poor family. (See Tables 48 and 49.) The prosperous family selected is in the upper economic group and is one of the more respected, educated families in the village. At the time of our study, the family consisted of the parents and an adult son and daughter. Both the son and daughter had received considerably more education than is common, and both had lived in Mexico City with relatives. 262 556 735 511

The other family is one of the poorest in the village. The father is a *tlacololero* and works alone to support his wife and seven young children. An older daughter left home to work as a servant in Cuernavaca, but she contributes nothing to the family. The ages of the children at home range from an infant-in-arms to fifteen years. Both families were observed during the summer months before the harvest in the year 1944. The slight differences in some of the prices were due to local fluctuations; the smaller quantities purchased by the poor family sometimes resulted in higher costs. The weekly budgets represent a summary of daily expenditures directly observed or estimated by our field workers.

A comparison of the weekly food budgets reveals that, although Family I has fewer mouths to feed, it spends three times more on food and consumes consistently more of every food item, with the exception of corn, green chile, lard, and salt. Its weekly diet provides greater variety, more sources of protein and more of the highly prized "luxury" foods. The corn-beans-chile-complex mentioned earlier makes up only 13 per cent of the diet of Family I and 46.9 per cent of that of Family II. Taken alone, corn represents 34 per cent of the food expenditure of the poor family and 9 per cent of that of the well-to-do family.[9] Despite this, the latter consumes only 2½ *cuartillos* less corn a week. If we consider those food items which are consumed daily or in the greatest quantities weekly by the poor family, we find that corn, beans, green chile, lard, wild greens, coffee, sugar, salt, and green tomatoes make up 83 per cent of the expenditure of this family. These foods may be said to be the real core of their diet. The same foods take up only 22 per cent of the expenditure of the other family.

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[9] During certain times of the year some Tepoztecan families live on a diet which consists of from 50 to 70 per cent corn.

beef (bull or ox)
cinnamon
orange
plums
black *zapote*
brown sugar
tequesquite
chirimoya
honey
squash
garlic
mamey
alcohol
acacia seeds
onion
ice
ices
ice cream
oil
all fats

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CLOTHING

The old-style clothing is essentially Spanish in origin, with some admixture and adaptations from pre-Hispanic times. The old-style costume for women consists of a long dark-colored skirt (*enaguas de encima*), a white underskirt (*enaguas de dentro*), a collarless undershirt (*camisa*), and a high-necked blouse (*blusa* or *saco*). The costume includes a half-apron (*delantal*) and a sash (*cenidor*). The *rebozo* is also invariably worn. About three or four generations ago women still wore the dress of pre-Conquest times. This consisted of a *huipil*, or blouse, which was a large square of cloth worn poncho-like, by slipping it over the head through a slit in the center. It was worn in such a way that two corners fell over the shoulders, and the front and back corners were tucked into the skirt. The *huipil* differs markedly from the prudish high-necked, long-sleeved *blusa* which displaced it in that it was very loose covering and freely revealed the breasts. The ancient skirt (*cueitl*) was a rectangular cloth which was wrapped around the lower part of the body and held in place with a sash. 291 [177]

The old-style clothing for men consists of white cloth pants (*calzones*), long white cloth underdrawers, a white collarless undershirt (*camisa*), a white collarless overshirt, and a white cotton jacket. Leather huaraches and a straw sombrero complete the costume. (See Fig. 41.) The large, Zapata-type sombreros have given way to smaller-brimmed hats, since the advent of the bus and increased travel. The serape is an important article of clothing and is used for warmth and for protection against rain. The *gabán* is a poncho-like wool blanket and is now considered more old-fashioned than the serape. [178]

The pre-Conquest clothing worn by men differed considerably from that in the post-Conquest period, but has nevertheless had more influence on later styles than pre-Conquest women's dress.

The ancient costume of the male Aztecs, although modified according to the social position of the wearer, was composed of three principal garments, the *maxtlatl*, a belt or loincloth with the ends hanging down in front like an apron; the *tilmahtli*, a woven cape worn over the shoulders and knotted in front; and the *cactli*, sandals of leather or woven of *maguey* fiber. Of these three, the first has entirely disappeared, the second influenced the form and use of the modern *sarape*, while the third remains little changed today.[illegible]

Children's old-style clothes were reproductions of adult clothing and were worn almost as soon as a child began to walk. (See Fig. 42.) [855]

[illegible] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 42.

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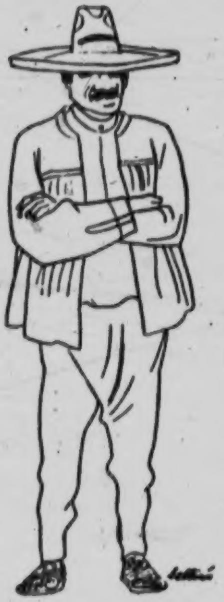

Fig. 41. Old-style clothing for men.

[178] The new type of dress existed among the wealthier and more citified Tepoztecans in the 1920's but has, during the past twenty years, spread among the rest of the population. For women, the new-style dress (Fig. 43) consists of a one-piece dress (*vestido*), a full-length slip (*combinación*), underdrawers, a long apron (*babero*), and perhaps shoes and stockings. Some of the younger women now use a brassière (*portabusto*), though these, as well as underdrawers, are often dispensed with after marriage. The *reboso* is also commonly worn, but sweaters, jackets, and even coats are now coming into use. Girls wear one-piece dresses, underdrawers, and occasionally an underslip. The dresses vary in length from below the calves up to the knees.

Modern male dress consists of ready-made pants, a collared and buttoned shirt, and a collared jacket. (See Fig. 44.) Huaraches, now usually made of rubber soles, are still commonly worn, but shoes are worn daily by some, and on holidays and on
[292] trips to the city by many. The sombrero is sometimes replaced by a narrow-brimmed felt hat, but only the most citified men in Tepoztlán wear neckties. Modern dress
[177] for boys may be overalls or pants and a buttoned shirt. Occasionally a small boy
[369] may be seen in a blouse and short pants. Straw hats are universally worn by boys. The *gabán* and serape are now often replaced by a sweater or jacket, and many boys wear shoes.

796 No one attends all fiestas, but all attend some. Widows and older women are
known to be *muy fiestera* and habitually attend as many fiestas as possible. The
589 very poor tend to participate in the fiestas of other barrios and other villages,
887 whereas the well-to-do are more careful to attend the religious services held in the
central church. Children especially like to attend fiestas and beg to accompany their
735 mothers or aunts. The sharp drop in school attendance during certain fiesta times
556 is a chronic complaint of the school. Tepoztecans also frequent the fairs of Chalma,
872 Jiutepec, Tepalzingo, Tlayacapan, and Mazatepec. Some go to buy or sell, but
others go purely for diversion.

484 The establishment and increasing popularity of many national and patriotic
439 holidays are making for a new type of diversion in the village. These occasions
differ from the traditional fiestas, in that they are organized by the school staff and
527 are carried out by the children. They consist of plays, dances, recitations, speeches
872 in explanation of the holidays, and singing of national songs. Parades of school
children are also becoming familiar events during the year. These celebrations are
541 liked and well attended, and are becoming more and more a significant part of
local life. Other contributions of the school to local entertainment are occasional
dances and *kermeses,* at which food and drinks are sold and games played to raise
money for various school needs. These activities are enjoyed by the young people,
but attendance is generally small because of the resistance of the older generation to
535 modern ballroom dancing; they look upon it as immoral, even when supervised.
The school organizes occasional excursions for the children, but since these involve
626 some expense many parents do not permit their children to participate. A literary
536 and dramatic group was once organized in the school, but it was short lived because
of local criticism and gossip.

517 Perhaps the next most common form of diversion is to go to Cuernavaca on one
pretext or other. On Sundays, groups of young men take the bus to Cuernavaca
484 where they spend the day walking about, playing pool, drinking in the *cantinas,*
and visiting with prostitutes. Other men go to Cuernavaca for secret rendezvous
837 with widows or married women from Tepoztlán. Women and girls go to Cuernavaca
439 to buy or sell things at the market and to look at the store windows. A few of
the more citified girls go to Cuernavaca to attend the movies and to buy the latest
fashion magazines. Although it is impossible to estimate the effect of the pressure
of this small but sophisticated tourist center on Tepoztlán, it is certain that it plays
a strong role in providing a source of diversion and temporary personal freedom.

517 Sports as a form of popular diversion are limited. The traditional cockfights are
all but gone and the *jaripeo* (rustic rodeo), although still liked, is declining because
526 of the lack of skill and interest on the part of young men. Hunting is seldom indulged
541 in as a sport, and even less so as a source of food supply. Those who are
hard pressed to earn a living find it more profitable to spend the slack seasons working
224 as peons for others. Singing and serenading at night is still popular among
535 young men and is a source of pleasure for most villagers.

Organized sports or games were first introduced in Tepoztlán in 1922 as a con-

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sequence of a national campaign by the Minister of Education. Baseball, soccer, 526 basketball, and volleyball were taught by the school and had immediate appeal [177] among the youth. From the first, soccer was most popular. In 1929 a sports club of 22 soccer players, all from the three center barrios, was organized. The popularity [872] of the game developed slowly until 1930, when the number of enthusiasts increased sharply because of the efforts of a new school director. Between 1934 and 1936, at the time that the road was being built, there were as many as 15 soccer teams. Even the religious barrio of Santa Cruz had its team. This enthusiasm lasted for about three years. In 1939 no soccer team existed and the interest in the sport lapsed for a few years.

There are now five teams, four in the large, center barrios and one in the small barrio of Los Reyes. The teams play against each other with the traditional barrio [621] spirit of competition. They also play against teams from Cuernavaca and other nearby towns. There is no athletic field in the village, and the center teams play in [648] the large yard of the Cathedral while the Los Reyes team rents a field. The scarcity of level land makes it impossible to use any of the communal land, and the young [367] men are thinking of buying a plot of land for an athletic field. The only equipment bought by the team is the ball. About half of the players own special soccer shoes; [292] the other half play barefoot or in huaraches.[14]

The teams usually play to an audience of small boys. Adults are disinterested in games or actively disapprove of them, and parents do not permit their daughters to attend. When teams from other villages play, only a few girls from the center barrios come to watch. The skill and triumphs of the players are appreciated by a handful of people; there are no fans and there is no community spirit in connection with this sport.

In 1947, when a Cultural Mission was in Tepoztlán, there was an attempt made [658] to stimulate wider interest in games by organizing an inter village competition [628] and appointing committees of *madrinas* or godmothers for each team. The *madrinas* came dressed in white and bearing flowers for each team, but the audience remained as small as ever.

The advantages of the cooperative action involved in team playing, and the [476] unifying effect of a strong common interest, are experienced only by the actual members of the teams. Small as this group is, their experience in cooperation is of some [571] significance in so highly individualistic a village as Tepoztlán.

Recreational activities in Tepoztlán were further diversified with the opening of 529 a billiard room in 1935. This was another point of conflict between the older people and the younger men of the village. The poolroom was quickly characterized as a breeding place of drunkenness and bad habits. But despite their objections, pool became popular among the boys of all the barrios. When boys began to stay out of school to play, parents forced the local administration to ban poolrooms from admitting boys under eighteen years of age. There are now two poolrooms, one with

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[14] A professional soccer player from Mexico City admired the skill of young Tepoztecans in kicking the hard ball with their bare toes.

It is to be noted that the birthday of the father was not celebrated in either family, 571
despite the fact that it is traditionally the most important birthday. It is quite com- 527
mon for men past youth to forego birthday celebrations as an economy measure.

Expenditure for alcohol is an almost inevitable item in every Tepoztecan house- 571
hold. It was impossible to estimate this item in Family I since the family was reticent
to discuss it. The father has, in recent years, begun to drink heavily, and during 273
periods of drunkenness, has wasted considerable family funds. A conservative estimate of his expenditures on alcohol would be at least four times that of Family II. It is interesting to note that the daughter in Family I also likes to drink wine and beer with her more sophisticated friends. This is a custom she learned while in [177]
Mexico City; in Tepoztlán she and her friends indulge only in great secrecy.

In Family II only the father drinks. When he has money he drinks about 10 centavos worth of alcohol each morning.

BASIC HOUSEHOLD NECESSITIES

The articles included and the cost of each for both families are as follows: 511

	Family I (Pesos)	*Family II* (Pesos)
Soap	62.40	26.00
Charcoal	57.00	—
Wood	18.00	54.60
Kerosene	18.72	10.92
Cigarettes	43.68	7.80
Candles	43.68	18.72
Matches	7.80	2.60
Laundress	52.00	—
Total	303.28	120.64

The better-to-do family uses more soap, bathes and changes clothes more often, [556]
uses labor-saving charcoal, and has better lighting in the home. The father and
son each smoke about three times more cigarettes than the father of the poor family, [276]
and the mother of the first family has the aid of a hired woman for the laundry. [357]
However, expenditures for household necessities for Family I is 5 per cent of the total, whereas for Family II it is 12 per cent.

HOUSE UPKEEP, REPAIR, AND TAX

This item provides a sharp contrast between the two families. The better-to-do 571
family spent 1,165 pesos, or 19 per cent of its total expenditures, on improving its 356
house; the poor family spent nothing but the 2 pesos for house tax. Family I regularly paints, whitewashes, and repairs its house; Family II has not done anything to improve its house in the past five years. The former has continually added rooms and out-buildings to the original house; the latter has lived in the same one-room house since marriage. It is one of the hopes of this family to add a room or porch, so that the older children may sleep separately from the parents and young children.

It is interesting to note that the tax for the improved house is little higher than [651]

informant who was an ardent supporter of the church and claimed to be a descendant of Martín Cortés who had lived in Tepoztlán. 173
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> When the sons of the Sun [referring to the Spaniards] arrived at the place today known as Vera Cruz, some of the worshippers of Ometochtli began to waiver because the conquerors bore the Catholic religion. . . . The king and *cacique*, Tepoztecatl, an intelligent and astute man, naturally realized at once that it was the true belief. He began to weaken morally and he abandoned his subjects because he knew their beliefs were false. Then the sub-kings of Cuernavaca, Xiotepec, Yautepec, Tlayacupec, and Tlalmanalac demanded of King Tepoztecatl that he follow his former beliefs. But Tepoztecatl did not know what to tell them to convince them that the idol which they venerated was false. And he thus became an enemy of the others and they said they were going to fight him as a traitor. Now this King Tepoztecatl, learning their plans to fight, ordered his Tepoztecan subjects to place advance guards to await the enemy.
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> Finally the Spaniards reached Tenochtitlán and then the Tepoztecans secretly went there to learn about the new faith. Tepoztecatl was baptized there and they named him Natividad because this was on the eighth of September, and when he returned to Tepoztlán he was already a Christian. But the priest had advised him to convert his subjects amiably and with affection, that they should treat one another as brothers and that they should respect the fifth commandment of the Decalogue. This he did. He talked to all of them of the good and the bad and ordered his advance guard to suspend the bloody quarrel. When his adversaries learned of the order they came right in to where he was, not to fight but to learn about the new faith. It was at this point that there began the celebrated polemic between Tepoztecatl and his enemies. [This polemic is still conserved today and is recited, with its many variants, in the Náhuatl language during the fiesta of the eighth of September. It is called the Oration of Tepozteco.] [796] The visitors were satisfied and asked forgiveness of Tepoztecatl. The King Natividad, formerly Tepoztecatl, gave them a warm embrace and they reciprocated and each returned to his own tribe. Natividad was highly pleased and satisfied in having complied with the task the missionaries of Tenochtitlán had given him.
>
> Natividad continued to teach all that he had learned to the natives of his own town, and when he thought they were ready to be baptized he returned to Tenochtitlán to inform the priests. He came accompanied by Dominican priests and on the following day gave their promise there on the spot of Oxibolta where today there is a stone cross mounted on a column of masonry like a historic monument. Tepoztecatl worked hard to help convert the natives. When he died he was interred in a special place called Tlaulahu and they placed a monument there. A cross was also placed at the site of Tlallacualayan where the first Mass was said.

From the above account we see that Christianity was brought to Tepoztlán with little difficulty. The alliance of Tepoztecatl with the Spaniards, whose strength aroused the awe of the natives and their leaders, facilitated a peaceful conversion. The polytheism of the ancient religions permitted a relatively easy shift from the old gods to the new, who had demonstrated their superiority by the victories of the Spaniards. But many pre-Hispanic religious elements were carried over to the new religion.

The figure of Tepoztecatl, as both El Tepozteco and Natividad, permanently 177
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177 fused old Aztec concepts with those of the Catholic Church. His figure is also
confused with the god, Ometochtli, so that today he is known as El Tepozteco, god
776 of the wind and son of the Virgin Mary. For Tepoztecans the Catholic Trinity is
[778] viewed as a combination of three distinct gods, and the cross is a magical symbol
which has no relation to the death of Jesus. Tepoztecans continue to fear omens,
[771] evil spirits, and *los aires*. When they are in dire need of rain they pray to El
Tepozteco for aid.

175 The growth of Catholicism and the church in Tepoztlán was rapid. When the
first mass baptisms of the Tepoztecans occurred, no priests resided permanently in
797 Tepoztlán, but a few years later the natives began to petition for the construction
of a church in the town, since they did not want to be dependent upon the services of the priests from Yautepec or Oaxtepec. We do not know the exact date of the construction of the first church in Tepoztlán. However, in the *Relación* of 1580 we are told that the church had already been established:

> There is in this village a monastery of Dominican friars with three friars who administer the sacraments and that at the beginning they did not have any priest in this town and that they came from Yautepec and Guaxtepeque to baptize and confess the people, and that in the time of the Viceroy Luis de Velasco they asked for priests since many had died without confession and without baptism and so it was ordered that a monastery be built and the village did so at its own cost.[4]

Since the Viceroy Luis de Velasco was in office from 1550 to 1564, it must be supposed that the construction of the Tepoztecan church began during that time.

The Dominicans in Tepoztlán, while occupied in carrying out the administrative measures of the viceroy and in arousing in the natives respect for the Spanish authorities, also attempted to extirpate all pre-Hispanic cults. The Dominicans were especially vigorous in their attacks upon the native priests whom they regarded as witches, and upon the ancient idols which were instruments of the devil. One of
[778] their first objectives was to destroy the great image of Ometochtli, situated at the
top of a mountain overlooking the village.[5]

Father F. Domingo de la Anunciación ordered the idol hurled over the cliff to show the natives that it could be smashed, hoping thus to destroy their faith in the power of the god. Despite the great height from which the idol fell, it remained intact. However, with the aid of prayers, exorcisms, and large hammers, the priests managed to break the stone.

According to our informants, when the idol fell it made a terrible noise which put fear into the spectators. When it did not break, alarm spread among the Indians and many would have defended their god had it not been for the presence of Spanish soldiers. After the destruction of the image, Tepoztecans lived in fear of the vengeance of the god. Tradition has it that Ometochtli ran through the streets at night crying and bemoaning the fate of the Tepoztecans at the hands of the con-

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[4] *Relación*, p. 245.

[5] Remains of the temple and the stairway still exist in Tepoztlán, and attract many tourists.

Tepoztecans do not like to confess; the majority do so only once a year. Not giving 783
much importance to sin, Tepoztecans do not regard confession as necessary. Most
men consider confession important only when one is about to die but "with the [763]
pangs of death, who's going to remember to confess properly?" Women, particularly married women, are less reluctant to confess, and about fifty women are
known to take communion and confess quite often. Through the Acción Católica
the number of young people of both sexes who do this has increased. Perhaps the
most important deterrent to confession, especially among the older people, is that [782]
the priest may exact from the confessor the recitation of certain prayers which most
people cannot say accurately. Fearing a scolding from the priest, they prefer to
avoid the situation. There is no such difficulty with communion. "We would all [796]
take communion more often if we didn't have to confess; that we always avoid."

In general, the Tepoztecan feels obliged to contribute to the church and does so 775
by paying *limosnas*. There is a belief that he who refuses to give alms will find 794
that no one receives his soul in heaven and that therefore he must go to hell. He
who always gives alms finds that when he dies and his soul goes to heaven, "the 776
Saint to whom he has given alms comes to receive the soul and intercedes with
God to allow him to enter, and so he gets to heaven." Thus, when a Tepoztecan [782]
lights a candle to some saint or deposits a coin or two in the box, he considers himself deserving of the protection of that saint.

Tithes, which were obligatory and were collected by the government for the 794
church before the Revolution, no longer exist. The local priest, however, hires a *limosnero* at harvest time to go about the fields, riding on a mule, to collect contributions from the farmers. As a rule, each farmer gives about twelve ears of corn, so that the priest collects a good amount for his stores.

Religious beliefs in Tepoztlán reflect Tepoztecan social character and world view. 771
The profoundly practical nature of Tepoztecans precludes religious fantasy, mysticism, and any preoccupation with metaphysics; they seek from religion concrete solutions to problems of daily life and go about it in as direct a manner as their religion permits. Their religious world, like the world in which they live, is full of hostile forces and punishing figures which must be propitiated to secure good
will and protection. The act of propitiation is direct and simple, consisting of giving [782]
something or doing something which is known to please a particular saint, such
as lighting a candle, giving a few coins, offering flowers, burning incense, reciting a special prayer, or performing a certain dance; these offerings incur an obligation on the part of the recipient to favor the donor.

As in most mestizo communities in Mexico and Central America, Tepoztecan 776
religious beliefs represent a fusion of Catholic and pagan elements. The people's
concept of God is vague at best; the one characteristic which is clear to Tepoztecans [177]
is that he is a punishing God who acts in ways hostile to men. Most misfortunes are ascribed to him; good fortune rarely.

The Holy Trinity is viewed as consisting of three distinct gods. One is God the Father, who is usually pictured with a long, white beard and a large ball in his

merable and not unlike many reported in other studies of rural Mexican communities. 787
Omens are seen in the cry of the opossum, the entry of a bat into the house, [171]
the howling of a dog at midnight, the rainbow, the death of a snake within the
house, the songs of certain birds, an egg laid without a shell, an egg with a double [825]
yolk, and many more such phenomena. When an evil omen appears in a home,
the entire family feels threatened, not knowing upon whom misfortune will fall,
and for a time everyone takes extra precautions against accident. Sometimes a
favorite saint is appealed to or a powerful *curandero* is sought out, but more often
the family does nothing, and the sense of apprehension soon wears off.

Evil supernatural forces can be made to act or can be counteracted by sorcerers 754
and witches who receive their power from the devil. Witches are thought to be most
active on Tuesdays and Fridays, and some people take extra precautions to hide
soiled clothing or not to accept gifts of food on those days. Several old women,
particularly those who know a great deal of herbal lore, are thought to be witches.
Aggressive or bold women may also be suspected, particularly women who are
able to dominate their husbands. Such women are often thought to have bewitched [183]
their husbands with *toloache*, a local herb. It is interesting to note that some of the
young girls who have studied outside the village, and who live by urban standards, [156]
are also suspected of being witches by a large portion of the population. One such
girl married a boy in the barrio of Los Reyes and was accused of being a witch by
her mother-in-law on the ground that she refused to behave like a good daughter-in-law
and continued to see her former school friends.

Sorcery is used in courtship by unsuccessful suitors. The leg of a beetle is introduced [832]
into a drink to arouse the passions of an indifferent girl, or a powder made
from skulls may be thrown on the palm of a woman's right hand or on her head,
or into her food or drink. Foods which spoil too quickly are often believed to contain
some powder meant for sorcery. A young Tepoztecan schoolteacher who
received a gift of apples from a pupil was very much alarmed when she noted that
the fruit rotted the very next day, and she suspected the child's family of trying
to bewitch her. The most feared type of sorcery is that in which an image of the
victim is fashioned out of his soiled clothing and pierced with a pin in the region
of the heart or head to bring about his illness or death. To be doubly certain of
success, the doll may be thrown into an anthill, so that *los aires* will also attack him.

Almost any unusual illness, but particularly swelling of the head or joints, may [253]
be attributed to sorcery by the local *curanderos*. A bewitched person usually leaves
the village in the belief that he is no longer safe there and can be cured only away 755
from the sorcerer. In such cases, Tepoztecans generally consult *curanderos* of wide [759]
repute in Yautepec or other towns and may spend several hundred pesos to undergo
a cure. However, mild symptoms of sorcery or illness due to supernatural elements
may be treated within the village by use of prayer, holy water, local herbs, ritual
"cleansing," and by consulting certain local healers who go into a trance and converse [787]
with spirits to get a diagnosis and prescribe a cure.[11]

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[11] This may be an element of African culture introduced into Tepoztlán by Negro slaves. [177]

531 [152] [177] The quality of constriction is also reflected in artistic expression and creativeness, both of which are limited. There are practically no handicrafts, no pottery, no weaving, no basketmaking. Although sewing, knitting, crocheting, and embroidery are becoming more widespread as a result of the influence of the cultural missions, the patterns used are purchased in Cuernavaca stores or copied from style magazines, and this work can hardly be called creative.

535 [533] [562] Music and the dance are very poorly developed. There are no traditional dances for men and women. The only traditional step used is the *brinco,* literally "the jump," which is a short jumping or skipping step done repeatedly without variation, to the accompaniment of a simple and monotonous melody played over and over. Only men are permitted to dance this step, and they do so singly or arm in arm with others, around the plaza in a large circle.

535 177 [872] Modern social dancing has been learned by some of the more acculturated young people, and dances are held about once a week in the plaza under the uncertain light of a Coleman gasoline lamp. Social dancing has not become popular; most parents still refuse to permit their daughters to attend these dances, and boys have difficulty finding partners. By and large, the dancing lacks skill and grace and the dances seem dreary affairs. The school teaches a few traditional dances from other parts of Mexico, and these are occasionally performed in public by the school children. Most children, however, do not participate or have occasion to use these dances later. In short, the dance is not an important part of Tepoztecan life.

533 [883] [527] [794] [872] [177] Musical expression consists primarily of singing typical regional songs to the accompaniment of the guitar. The local manner of singing is characterized by loudness and shouting, with little variation of style. These songs are sung exclusively by unmarried youths. Groups of boys or girls may serenade a friend or relative at dawn with the *mañanita,* or birthday songs, which are popular throughout Mexico. Perhaps the best singing occurs in the church where a selected choir of women and children sing under the direction of the *cantor*. New types of songs are being introduced by the school but are sung only by children; popular songs of the city, heard on the radio, are sung by girls in the privacy of their homes.

There are a number of bands of musicians who perform at local fiestas, dances, and at the more elegant weddings, baptisms, and funerals. These bands have a broader repertory than the singers, and play well-known music of Mexico and other nations. In musical skill, however, they compare unfavorably with the village guitar players and with musicians in other parts of Mexico and Latin America.

[538] [854] There is very little storytelling, and unlike villages in Spain, there is no rich lore of proverbs or sayings. Also, mothers generally do not sing to their children.

291 531 The clothing of the villagers is somewhat drab. The bright colors found in some parts of Mexico—the red skirts of Cherán, the red seed necklaces of the Tarascan women, the flamboyant serapes and *rebozos* of the south, the colorful pottery of Puebla and Oaxaca—are missing in Tepoztlán. Bright colors, particularly in clothing, are not in accord with Tepoztecan ideas of propriety, and only young girls are now beginning to wear them. Older women wear dull colored dresses,

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231. often express affection most easily toward their dogs and other favorite animals.

The limited expression of affection in Tepoztlán is part of a larger pattern
152 whereby what might be called the positive emotions—love, tenderness, kindness,
sympathy, generosity, and joy—are less easily expressed and not as well developed
as the negative ones, such as anger, hate, irritability, fear, jealousy, and envy. One
of our informants with more insight than most Tepoztecans succinctly described
the lack of warmth and positive emotion by saying, "Somos muy secos," that is,
[828] "We are dry." This is related to their general world view and their conception of
human beings, both of which tend to stimulate negative emotional responses.

There is a readiness to view people as potentially dangerous, and the most
156 characteristic initial reaction to others is suspicion and distrust. Lack of trust is
571 not only present among non-relatives but also exists within families and affects
[609] the relations of husbands and wives, parents and children, and brothers and sisters.
This is not a neurotic distrust, but one rooted in the hard realities of Tepoztecan
[593] social and economic life, in patterns of child-training, and in a long history of
conquest, colonial status, and internal and external political and economic ex-
[182] ploitation. In Tepoztlán, the motives of everyone are suspected, from the highest
public officials of the nation, to the local priest, and even to close relatives. It is
assumed that anyone in a position of power will use it to his own advantage at the
[641] expense of others. Honest government or leadership is considered an impossibility;
altruism is not understood. The frank, direct person, if he exists anywhere in
Tepoztlán, is considered naive or the greatest rogue of all, so powerful or shame-
less as to have no need to conceal his deeds or thoughts. An individual who is
obliging without cost to those who seek his aid is understood to have some as
yet unrevealed plan for capitalizing on his position.

156 Friendships, as defined in terms of mutual trust, loyalty, aid, and affection di-
rected toward one individual are few in Tepoztlán, and are avoided rather than
572 sought. Friendship as such is not a Tepoztecan ideal and is not institutionalized in
the form of a best friend or in any other way. Cases of lifelong friendships are
rare and are almost always limited to the more acculturated families. Friends are
viewed by adults as potential enemies, as a source of trouble, and as a waste of time.
[562] Traditionally women and girls are not supposed to have any friends whatsoever.
While one may have friendly relations with individuals in Tepoztlán, these rela-
tions are segmented in that each is limited to one or two purposes. With one
individual, there may be a work exchange relationship; with another, a borrowing
relationship; and with others, a drinking relationship.

An exception to this is a type of friendship among men and youths known as the *cuate*, which means "twins."[8] These are more in the nature of close alliances made between two or more individuals of the same age group for a more generalized companionship. The *cuate* is depended upon for loyalty and defense in time of trouble, for political support, and for companionship in drinking, in

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[177] [8] The *cuate* is not traditional in Tepoztlán, having been introduced by soldiers from outside during the Revolution.

be bewitched as a result of romantic entanglements, and some mothers express 578
anxiety over this and warn their children to be careful. Chronic illness and most 754
deaths accompanied by swelling of the head or other parts of the body are fre- [753]
quently attributed to sorcery.

This situation makes for an oppressive atmosphere, particularly for those indi- 177
viduals who are striving to improve themselves or who, for one reason or another,
deviate from strict conformity. It is most true for the more educated or acculturated 156
minority and for a few of the well-to-do. Many of these people give evidence of 578
neuroticism and display the type of tension and discomfiture so often noted among marginal groups who live within two cultures, not wholly accepting or being wholly accepted by either. We have had occasion to observe some of these people who moved to Mexico City, subsequent to our acquaintance with them, and we were astonished to note the transformation which they invariably underwent. Their faces had become less impassive; they had gained weight; they looked happier and more relaxed; they laughed more and behaved with far less formality.

One girl who went to the United States with us described herself as feeling that a great weight had been lifted off her shoulders from the time she left Tepoztlán. She no longer had to worry about gossip, criticism, sorcery, secrecy, and felt more free to express herself as she wished. Of course, this sensation is common among all people who shift from a small rural town to a large city, but in Tepoztecans we noted more striking physiological, psychological, and personality changes.

The sanctions against the overt expression of aggression in inter-personal rela- 152
tions sometimes give rise to an interesting type of disease locally known as *muina*, 753
an illness caused by anger, in which aggression is apparently turned inward
against the self. The symptoms of *muina* are loss of appetite, inability to take food, [164]
vomiting, loss of weight, and very often death. *Muina* is a fairly common condition and occurs among members of both sexes, primarily among adults but sometimes even among children. It may be caused by insult, humiliation, bad luck, or any
other frustration which arouses anger. People with *muina* are not supposed to eat [757]
certain foods lest they become seriously ill. The dangerous foods include pork, eggs, milk, bananas, avocados, *chirimoya*, and most "hot" foods.*

There are also situations in which the direct expression of aggression is sanc- 152
tioned, and other occasions in which it is expressed despite community sanctions 578
against it.

Aggression is sometimes expressed directly in the beating of children, wife, or [593]
younger sisters or brothers. Men also beat their animals in moments of anger, al-
though generally they are careful not to injure them. Attitudes toward wife beating [231]
and child-beating have been changing in the direction of disapproval. In extreme
cases of cruelty, the guilty party may be denounced to the authorities and punished. [683]
Most cases of wife-beating now occur only when the men are drunk. [273]

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* It is interesting to note that most of the foods to be avoided contain considerable fat or oil. This suggests the possibility that the emotional disturbance causes liver disorder which makes the patient extremely sensitive to fat and unable to digest it.

185 [426] birth, but rather greater application to the task of earning money after its arrival. The lack of foresight forces individuals into many distasteful borrowing situations and creates indebtedness among a people who abhor it.

177 152 571 There is comparatively little anxiety or sense of frustration in connection with personal success or self-development. What anxiety there is, stems from fear of a hostile environment and from the poor quality of inter-personal relations. Exceptions to this are found primarily among the more educated and acculturated group, particularly among the youth who have been to school outside of the village. It is among these individuals that we find greater dissatisfaction, ambition, desire for self-development, and fear of personal failure. These are also the people who show signs of maladjustment in the village.

156 183 [154] [753] Of special interest, for the understanding of the relative absence of frustration or anxiety, is the tendency to shift personal responsibility to others or to impersonal forces and to explain non-conformity in terms of magical or other supernatural forces, which are believed to control the individual. The illness or death of a child may thus be attributed by the mother to the "evil eye" or to *espanto,* rather than to her own negligence. Illness of a child after weaning will be attributed to jealousy rather than to the brusque change in diet or poor maternal care. A young girl who breaks all the rules and goes after a boy may be said to have been bewitched. A man who is dominated by his wife is said to have been drugged.

154 593 This shifting of responsibility is also expressed in other situations. In the short formal speech made by the parents to their future son-in-law, they remind him that the decision to marry their daughter is his own, and that he must not blame them if she turns out bad. Parents sometimes express a certain amount of relief when a son or daughter leaves home to work or to marry, for they no longer feel responsibility for his or her behavior. It is also not uncommon for parents to comfort themselves with the same thought at the death of a child.

777 154 [691] Other traits, such as fatalism, stoicism in the face of misfortune, passivity, acceptance of things as they are, and a general readiness to expect the worst, tend to lift from the individual the burden of personal responsibility for his fate and perhaps help to explain the relative absence of guilt or self-blame. Even in the face of gross injustice, in which the individual is protected by law, there may be little or no self-defense.

For example, a man who has been cheated out of a piece of property by a wealthier or more educated person may put up little fight on the ground that he will surely lose against the greater power of the other. A widow whose daughter was raped by a wealthy man did not press charges because, she said, "There is no justice for the poor and defenseless."

777 626 [661] [208] This attitude is even more striking in regard to injustices against society as a whole or against village interests. Stealing public funds, misleading or mishandling citizens by officials, or immoral behavior on the part of a person in power usually go unpunished and often uncriticized in public, although there may be much private resentment. The absence of strong public opinion, which generally controls

supposed to refuse her husband's request for money and may receive a beating or 594
scolding if she does. A wife will refuse her husband money when she suspects that [183]
it is for drink or for another woman.

Wives are in a position to do a great deal of secret spending, borrowing, and paying back, which gives them a considerable source of added independence. Wives are also free to sell small quantities of the family corn or their own chickens or eggs, and to use the cash whenever they see fit. Although wives are supposed to get the
permission of their husbands before going to see a doctor or *curandero*, visiting, or [484]
buying and selling in quantity, the frequent absence of the husband from the house permits the wife to do many of these things without his knowledge.

A few men, in an effort to control family affairs, keep their earnings and dole out small daily sums to their wives. Such men are considered very undesirable as
husbands. They are called *cuilchilete*, or men with very long penes, and are said [831]
to be miserly. Even in those cases where the husband holds the funds, the wife
always has an immediate source of cash from selling corn. Some husbands attempt 578
to secure independence by withholding part of their earnings. This leads to quar-
rels, however, because wives generally know the exact amount of a husband's earn- 594
ings, and they feel justified in demanding all the money. The fact that the husband often spends the money on drink puts him at a further disadvantage; the wife may then accuse him of wasting it, of not caring whether his family eats, etc. Wives in such situations may complain to the mother-in-law, or in extreme cases to the priest or *padrino* of marriage, who will invariably advise the husband to relinquish all his earnings.

In contrast to the wife's central role within the home, the husband's actual 594
participation in family and household affairs is minimal. His work, with the exception of hauling water and making occasional repairs in and around the house,
is outside the home. The division of labor is clear-cut, and the husband, except in [462]
emergencies, never does anything in connection with the house or children. For the majority of men, the home is a place where they have their physical needs attended to. Men are away from home a good part of the day, and sometimes for several days at a time, depending upon their work and the season of the year.

The history of Tepoztlán has been such that men frequently were forced to leave
the village for long periods, and it is interesting to speculate on the effect of this on [177]
family life. We know that many Tepoztecans had to work in the mines of distant Taxco and on faraway haciendas during the early sixteenth century. This pattern continued in modified form throughout the colonial period and until the Revolution. Before the Revolution, large numbers of men worked on the neighboring haciendas and returned to the village only once every two weeks. Even today, about 150 men work on the haciendas during four to six months of the dry season, returning home once a week. With the husband away, the wife was not only head of the family but also often had to find means of supporting herself and the children until his return.

Perhaps more important than a husband's absence from the home is his behavior 593

608
As the couple grow older, the husband may make the selection, and often friendship, 571
rather than higher economic status, dictates the choice.

Godparents address their godchildren in the familiar *tú* and are addressed in 795
turn by the respectful *Vd.* Traditionally, the godchild had to kiss the godparent's 195
hand at each meeting, but this is no longer common. It is customary for the god- 576
parent to offer the child a few centavos upon meeting. But the obligations of the
godparent are many. They must assist at the baptism, purchase the child's clothing 795
for the occasion, and pay the fee to the priest. They also accompany the mother and 851
child to the *sacamisa,* or first Mass, which should take place forty days after the
birth of the child. If the infant dies they arrange for the wake, dress the child ap- 764
propriately for burial, and contribute to the expenses of the musicians at the
funeral. One of the obligations of the godparent is to urge their *compadres* to send
the child to school. If the child learns bad habits or otherwise needs correction, the
parents may call upon the godparents to scold the child.

The godparents of confirmation are generally selected by the godparents of 795
baptism, and occasionally the latter may accept both roles. The godparents of mar- 585
riage are also important figures. One of their functions is to act as mediators be- 586
tween the couple, in case of quarrels or separations.

One of the distinctive aspects of the *compadre* system in Tepoztlán, and in 177
Mexico as a whole, is the way in which the godparent relationship has been ex-
tended far beyond the original Catholic forms. In most of Spain there are only two 608
or three types of godparents, popularly those of baptism, communion, and con- 571
firmation. Not so in Tepoztlán. In addition to the types mentioned above, Tepozte-
cans also have the following: *padrino de miscoton,*[6] *padrino de medida o listón,*[7]
padrino de evangelio,[8] *padrino de escapulario, padrino del niño Jesús,* and others.
It would seem that Tepoztecans have utilized every possibility for extending the 154
godparent relationship. This may be a reflection of their seeking security through
the extension of ceremonial kinship, for in most of the above cases a *compadre* re-
lationship is formed.

The godparent system has also been extended to secular activities. At soccer and 526
basketball games in the village, each team has its godmother who dresses in white,
carries flowers, and acts as the sponsor of the team, handing out the prizes to the 535
winners. At social dances there are also godmothers who act as chaperones for the
young people. 608

Compadres address each other with the respectful *Vd.* and avoid intimacies. They 571
may not drink together, discusss sexual matters, or tell dirty jokes. It is a respect
relationship and in this lies its strength. *Compadres* will often exchange favors, and 195

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[6] The term *miscoton* is Náhuatl and refers to a small sweater which the godparent places on the 521
godchild as a protection against illness. 757

[7] The *medida o listón* refers to a small piece of ribbon which has been blessed by the priest and
is placed on a sick child as a charm against evil. 755

[8] This godparent is also chosen for a child who is ill. A woman of the world is preferred 755
woman with a "hard heart." By going to church and saying a prayer, she becomes the child's
godmother.

infancy and early childhood: 16

There is much variety in the treatment and care of infants and children in Tepoz- 177
tlán because of individual differences and because of the presence of groups repre- 184
senting different cultural and economic levels. The most obvious contrasting prac-
tices in child care are those of the more acculturated families and those with only 85
minimal contacts with the outside. The distinction between these two groups is
not always clear-cut. Sometimes the mother represents one group and the father
the other, reflecting the state of transition which pervades the village and com-
plicates the discussion of customs in no small measure. Frequently there is no dif-
ference in customs as such, but rather in the practice of them.

INFANCY

At the birth of a child there is no celebration, and generally little fuss is made. 851
When the first-born is a son, there are usually expressions of pleasure on the part of
the father and relatives. But many mothers describe the arrival of their children
as causing "neither joy nor argument," and frequently complain of their husband's
indifference at the birth of a child. Men do, in fact, maintain an attitude of reserve
but often respond to a new arrival by working harder. More modern men do not
conceal pleasure at the birth of a child, and behave much the way new fathers do
in our society. Gifts are not traditionally given to the child, although some of the
more acculturated do this and invite friends in to drink and to eat *mole*

It is believed that the first weeks of life are dangerous, for the infant is partic- 751
ularly susceptible to the "evil eye," "bad humors," and *los aires*. Non-relatives are 854
not encouraged to see a newborn child, though the more modern families permit
it after a few days. Babies sleep behind a curtain and are protected from "bad [609]
humors" with *ruda* and chile which are placed in the form of a cross beneath the
pillow or mattress of the cradle, and by a few drops of iodine on their clothing [825]
Some families hang a gallstone, taken from the gall bladder of a bull, around the
child's wrist to protect him from the "evil eye." This is no longer done in some of
the better educated families. After one month, a centavo may be hung on a string
around the child's neck to protect him from whooping cough. Some tie on a little

to sex. In the lower grades boys and girls play freely together, and in the two upper grades there is much courtship. 872

The influence of the school has been profound, not only for those who attend classes but for the village as a whole. This is especially true in recent years. Although schools have existed in the village for about a century, they formerly affected only a small percentage of better-to-do families. It was the great expansion of education after the Revolution that made the school a more significant factor in local life. 177 872 [669]

For most Tepoztecan children, the school is not only a source of learning the usual academic skills but also of learning new ways of living. The children are taught to wash their hands before meals, to brush their teeth, to wear clean clothing, to use handkerchiefs, to cover up coughs and sneezes, and to be punctual. They acquire new knowledge of germs, vitamins, diet, dress, social participation, and cooperation. On a different level the school teaches respect and love for the mother, and children are encouraged to make or buy a gift on Mother's Day. Through Children's Day, for which the parents and teachers collect money to buy goodies and take the children into the fields for a picnic, consideration for the needs of children is engendered. The school also encourages the celebration of family birthdays, with felicitations and small gifts.

The extent to which these teachings are practiced in daily life is difficult to determine, but they appear to be minimal. This does not mean that they are rejected; on the contrary they are generally taken to be desirable and are supplying new standards and goals. So far as we can determine, new practices are not introduced at home because of the resistance of parents to spending money on such articles as toothpaste, toothbrushes, and handkerchiefs. Some mothers complain that their children, particularly the daughters, become too fussy about being clean and refuse to go out in even slightly soiled clothing.

There is a growing tendency for young married couples, who have become independent of their parents, to practice what they have learned at school as soon as they are financially able. The young people who have attended school outside the village are more immediately and permanently affected by the school experience. Sometimes the difference in way of life between the parents and son or daughter who has been educated outside is extreme, and is reminiscent of the contrast between immigrant parents and their children born and reared in a different land. In Tepoztlán, however, the educated person who returns to the village and lives in poverty usually reverts to the old ways.

Going to school has a different significance for girls than for boys. Girls tend to associate going to school with freedom and pleasurable activity. Being away from home and the surveillance of the mother for six hours a day and having the opportunity to play with children of the same age, to form friendships with other girls, and to meet boys, are some of the advantages school offers to girls. (Fig. 57.) They tend to feel deprived at having to leave school, and many cry and express resentment when forced to do so. Boys, on the other hand, tend to associate school with 872

857 872

within the patio walls, at the beck and call of their mother. In many families there is a constant tug of war between parents and children over how much time is to be given to play. Children are more difficult to control, and some parents find it necessary to withdraw their children from school or to punish them frequently. In the past, by the time a child reached nine or ten years of age he seldom required a beating; he had learned to obey. Today, obedience from a child of school age, particularly a boy, is maintained by the parents with continued application of "a strong hand."

In general, boys have more freedom to play than girls. But even when boys still too young to go to the fields with their father are not required to work at home, it is thought highly desirable for them to play at home with brothers and sisters. More "careful" parents try to keep their young sons off the streets, to protect them from learning "malice" from other boys, who are invariably described as "bad companions." But, as we have indicated, it is difficult for the mother to control sons, in the absence of the father. Boys from the age of six to ten frequently are seen playing in the street.

With few exceptions, girls are much more under the control of their mothers than boys are. Girls play in snatches between errands and chores, and as they grow older, less and less time for play is available. The burden of household work usually falls on the eldest daughter, although in most families all girls over ten are pressed into continual service. There is a particularly sharp, consistent drop in the enrollment of girls in school after the fourth grade, and approximately half of the school girls between ages ten and eleven are withdrawn from school to help with the younger children at home. (See Fig. 58.) Under special circumstances—such as the death of either parent, the birth of a new sibling, or the inability of the mother to take care of many school children or many grown sons unassisted—a girl may be permanently withdrawn from school before the age of ten. By the time a girl is twelve or thirteen she is considered too mature to attend school because of the possibility of involvements with boys, and she is generally kept at home. A very small percentage of girls attend school until the sixth grade. They are usually, though not necessarily, from middle-group or better-to-do families and often continue their schooling to become teachers or dressmakers. These girls are almost the only girls in the village who enjoy daily leisure and have some personal freedom. [556]

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Children of school age play a wide variety of games, some of which are learned and played at school, but most games are learned from older children. In the latter group are some games which have in all probability been played for hundreds of years, and others were taught in the schools before and just after the Revolution. Most of the games played in Tepoztlán are well known in other parts of Mexico and Latin America. [171]

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A comparison of some of the old and new games reveals significant contrasts and is suggestive of the type of influence being exerted by the school. The older games are characterized by quiet play, relatively littl[illegible]hysical exertion, little or no

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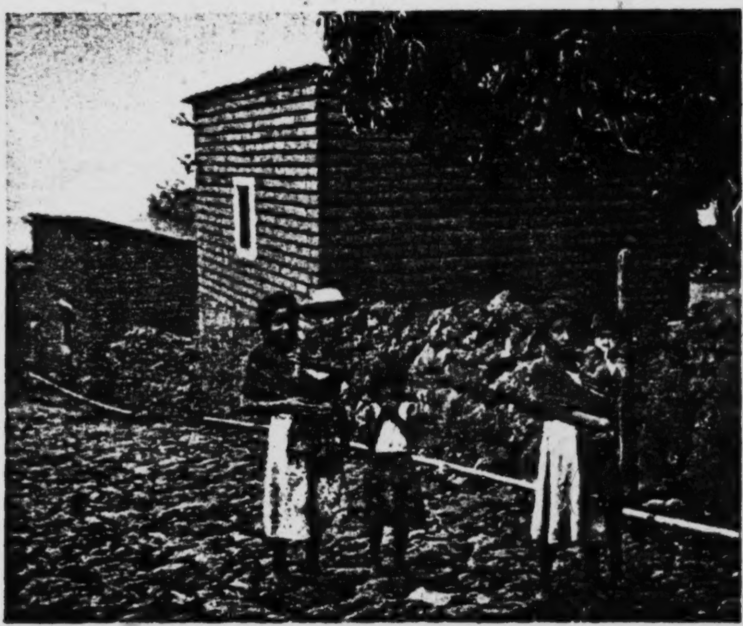

Fig. 58. Child nurses.

177 physical skill or individual competition (except for marbles and tops), and loosely
872 organized play groups. These games also reflect, to a striking degree, the customs,
524 religion, and temperament of the people. Most of the older games involve running and tagging, singing, responding, and imitating adult life. Choosing between alternatives and receiving punishment in the form of work tasks are also common features.

In contrast, the games taught at school are those in which teamwork, competition, scoring, definite goals, loyalty, leadership, sportsmanship, and physical exertion have an important place. This is especially true of games organized for boys and older girls. These games are popular among the young people and are played with enthusiasm.[1]

159 The range of activities of boys and girls varies widely insofar as work, school,
857 and play are concerned, and can best be appreciated by describing some cases. The
872 following brief accounts of three boys and three girls represent both the extreme and the middle-of-the-road type. The extreme of more work than play, and almost
883 no schooling, is perhaps the most widespread situation in Tepoztlán.

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[1] See Appendix F, p. 491, for list of games most commonly played in school and at home by Tepoztecan children.

ences to be kept in mind. In Tepoztlán, adolescents generally work for their parents and do not attend school. Thus, rather than becoming more of an economic burden 883 at this time, they are a decided economic asset to the family. The dependence of the parents upon the children becomes clearer during adolescence, and as a result the young people tend to have a more secure position in the family. The strongly authoritarian family and other factors have tended to produce passive, dependent youths rather than youths noted for initiative, ambition, drive, and independence.

In contrast with our own society, there is in Tepoztlán, with the outstanding exception of courtship and elopement, a notable absence of open "revolt" against the authority and example of parents or against local tradition. A very small percentage of the youths are willing or able to strike out on new paths or leave home to seek more profitable work elsewhere, and those who do, invariably have the support and backing of their parents. There is no pattern of running away from home "to seek one's fortune," although it may occur among boys when home conditions are unbearable.

The only evidences of a sharp break with tradition come from the small group 177 of boys and girls who have studied outside the village and returned imbued with 184 new customs and ideas. A small minority, they are nevertheless extremely important, since they serve as models for the youth of the village. Although few village 883 youths imitate the style of dress and of manners of their educated neighbors, many undoubtedly would if they could. There is among the young people a vague desire for self-improvement and a more enjoyable, comfortable life. This wish finds immediate expression in a desire for better clothing, shoes, beds, and so on. *Señoritas* particularly want attractive dresses, jewelry, cold cream, fine soap, and talcum. The more sophisticated now use cosmetics, nail polish, and hair curlers, attend public dances, and have friends of their own. Some few even drink and smoke in great secrecy. Boys want free time and money for the new sports and to go to Cuernavaca occasionally. Almost all young people would like to travel, go to the city, attend movies, and have some money to spend.

These aspirations sometimes engender conflict with the parents, but in most cases the young people do not express their desires. Nevertheless, we heard parents complain that the young people are becoming more difficult to control.

In terms of behavior and experience, the period of adolescence has different, al- 883 most contrasting, significance for boys and girls. For girls, it brings added confinement, personal restrictions, chaperonage, the conflict and fear as well as the excitement of secret courtship, the discovery of which often brings shame and harsh punishment. Girls also assume at this time a greater burden of not entirely desirable work, with few rewards. Boys, on the other hand, have greater freedom than before and receive more respectful treatment at home. They do work which they generally enjoy and which brings many rewards. Youths have an increasing number of diversions in which most of them are free to indulge, and courtship is a source of satisfaction and sense of achievement. In view of these differences, a discussion of adolescence should consider the adolescent girl and boy separately.

593 them at little provocation. Mothers also tend to spend a good part of the time in
gossiping with neighbors or visitors, going to the plaza, and visiting relatives. Some
883 take jobs or start up small businesses and are away from home much of the day.

[594] The pleasanter or more rewarding aspects of an adolescent girl's life are the new
clothes and little luxuries her parents see fit to buy for her, trips to the plaza or mill,
and attendance at church and fiestas. The majority of girls are permitted only a
[882] minimum of these. Rewards in terms of higher status, increased respect or authority, or expressions of appreciation or praise are generally absent. Courtship
provides a great deal of excitement but also is a source of worry and fear.

THE ADOLESCENT BOY

883 It is at the beginning of adolescence that boys begin to work seriously at farming, which is the most important and most respected work in the village. The improved status of boys, their larger share of food, clothing, and spending money,
and their increasing authority over younger brothers and sisters, all stem from this.
Boys of thirteen and fourteen, who may still be in school, begin to chafe under the
confinement, authority, and "childishness" of school, and long to do farming and
partake in its rewards. This coincides with the wishes of most parents, for boys
[594] of this age generally spend their days working under the supervision of their fathers.
Boys who are orphans or whose family owns no land may work with an uncle or
brother-in-law during the learning period and later work as hired hands for others.
[735] Boys in very poor families sometimes work at simpler tasks for wages several years
before adolescence, but this is no longer common.

593 883 The work relations of father and son are generally smoother than that of mother and daughter. The more authoritarian, reserved figure of the father usually inspires the son to complete obedience. Fathers also tend to be more patient and less hurried in teaching their sons, and the work is done side by side, with the father usually taking the heavier burden.

526 Interest and participation in sports and other "modern" diversions are becoming
883 characteristic of adolescent boys and older youths in Tepoztlán. Although recreational activities are still quite limited in Tepoztlán, especially when compared with
177 the United States, there is much resistance to them on the part of the older generation. Not only is play generally viewed as a small child's activity exclusively but,
even for children, it is often thought of as being a waste of time and having a
strong element of danger. In the case of sports for boys of thirteen to twenty or
more years of age, it is considered harmful and unnecessary. Parents believe that
sports consume the precious energy needed in the milpas; they say that the ax,
machete, and team of oxen provide all the exercise a farmer can endure. Mothers
complain that their sons get overheated and are particularly liable to *los aires*. Older
men tend to dislike the new sports because they are successfully pushing out the
[541] older diversions, such as *jaripeos* and cockfights.[1]

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[1] For a discussion of new sports and forms of diversion for young people, see Chapter 9, "Wealth Differences and Levels of Living," p. 208.

114 121 own work in the village, it seems to me that the concept of the folk-culture and folk-urban continuum was Redfield's organizing principle in the research. Perhaps this helps to explain his emphasis on the formal and ritualistic aspects of life rather than the everyday life of the people and their problems, on evidence of homogeneity rather than heterogeneity and the range of custom, on the weight of tradition rather than deviation and innovation, on unity and integration rather than tensions and conflict.

Redfield's interest was primarily in the study of a single cultural process: the evolution from folk to urban, rather than a well-rounded ethnographic account. He only incidentally considered Tepoztlán in its historical, geographical, and cultural context in Morelos and Mexico, and attempted rather to place Tepoztlán within the broader, more abstract context of the folk-urban continuum.

The questions he asked of his data were quite different from those asked in this study. For example, unlike the present study, he was not concerned with determining just what Tepoztlán is typical of in relation to rural Mexico; nor was he concerned with determining how a study of Tepoztlán might reveal some of the underlying characteristics and problems of Mexico as a whole. Thus, the Revolution in Tepoztlán is not analyzed in terms of its social, economic, and political effects upon the village, nor in terms of what light it might throw upon the nature of the Revolution as a whole, but rather in regard to the more limited question of the emergence of Zapata as a "folk hero."

114 *CRITIQUE OF REDFIELD'S CONCEPT OF FOLK-URBAN CONTINUUM*

121 177 369 Since the concept of the folk society as an ideal type is, after all, a matter of definition,[7] there can be no quarrel with it as such, provided that it can be shown to have heuristic value. On the basis of our study of Tepoztlán, however, I should like to point out a number of limitations I have found in the conceptual framework of the folk-urban continuum, both as a scheme for the study of culture change and for cultural analysis. These criticisms can be discussed under six related points.

(1) The folk-urban conceptualization of social change focuses attention primarily on the city as the source of change, to the exclusion or neglect of other factors of an internal or external nature. So-called folk societies have been influencing each other for hundreds of years and out of such inter-action has come cultural change. As we have seen, the archaeological record in Tepoztlán, as well as in other parts of Mexico, indicates quite clearly a great mingling of peoples and cultures, which dates back at least a thousand years before the Spanish Conquest. Tepoztlán itself

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[7] It should be noted that Redfield's use of the term "folk" and "folk society" has not always been consistent. In the study of Tepoztlán, he used it sometimes in a non-technical and popular sense, as when he speaks of folk dances, folk music, and folklore. (Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 173.) But for the most part he defines the folk society as an intermediate stage between the truly primitive tribe and the urban community. This position was also taken in his article on "The Folk Society and Culture" in 1940. But in 1947, in another article ("The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, p. 293) he sets up the folk society as an ideal type which includes the primitive tribal society.

was first conquered by the Toltecs and later by the Aztecs, and with each conquest 114
came new influences, new religious ideas, and new customs. 121

Another example of non-urban factors in culture change can be seen in the case
of Tepoztlán and other parts of Latin America, where the introduction of rural 177
culture elements was at least as far reaching in effect as any changes brought about 369
by later urban influences. Similarly, we find that the Mexican Agrarian Revolution (particularly in its Zapatista phase) was a profound influence for change, but can hardly be classified as an urban influence. It is evident that the folk-urban continuum concept deals with only one of a wide variety of situations which may lead to culture change.[8] In the case of Tepoztlán, to study the urban factors alone would give us only a partial picture of culture change.

(2) It follows that in many instances culture change may not be a matter of a folk-urban progression, but rather an increasing or decreasing heterogeneity of culture elements. For example, we have seen that the incorporation of Spanish rural elements, such as the plow, oxen, plants, and many folk beliefs, did not make Tepoztlán more urban, but rather gave it a more varied rural culture. The introduction of plow culture in Tepoztlán did not eliminate the older system of hoe culture but gave the Tepoztecans an alternative and, in some ways, more efficient method of farming, making for greater heterogeneity in the economic life and in the forms of social relationships.

(3) Some of the criteria used in the definition of the folk society are treated by 114
Redfield as linked or interdependent variables, but might better be treated as in- 121
dependent variables. Sol Tax, in his study of Guatemalan societies, has shown that
societies can be both culturally well organized and homogeneous and, at the same 182
time, highly secular, individualistic, and commercialistic.[9] He has also shown that inter-personal relations in a small and homogeneous society can be characterized by formalism and impersonality. His findings are supported by our Tepoztecan study. Moreover, our study shows other possible combinations of variables. Thus, whereas Tax found family disorganization as a concomitant of commercialism, in Tepoztlán the family remains strong, and there is little evidence of family disorganization. Moreover, collective forms of land tenure exist side by side with private land ownership and individual working of the land.

(4) The typology involved in the folk-urban classification of societies tends to 114
obscure one of the most significant findings of modern cultural anthropology,
namely, the wide range in the ways of life and in the value systems among so-called 121
primitive peoples. The folk society as used by Redfield would group together food-gathering, hunting, pastoral, and agricultural peoples, without distinction.[10] Simi-

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[8] Becker's recent elaboration of his sacred-secular dichotomy, each with numerous subtypes, gives us a much broader typology embracing a wider range of culture change situations. Howard Becker, "Sacred and Secular Societies," *Social Forces*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (May, 1950), pp. 361–75.

[9] Tax, "Culture and Civilization in Guatemalan Societies," *Scientific Monthly*, XLVIII (May, 1939), 463–67; and "World View and Social Relations in Guatemala," *American Anthropologist*, 43 (1941), 22–42.

[10] To apply the term "folk society" to high cultures like that of the Aztecs (Tepoztlán was [181]

114 individual rights in land may date back prior to the Spanish Conquest. Cortés
and his heirs owned land in Tepoztlán and rented it out to Tepoztecans as early
121 as 1580. In the past twenty or thirty years there have been no changes in the direc-
181 tion of the private ownership of the communal resources. The persistence of the
communal resources, which still accounts for over eighty per cent of all the area
of the municipio, is impressive.

The trend toward the breakdown of collective labor is seen clearly in Tepoztlán,
[470] particularly in connection with the difficulty in getting barrio members to turn out
[621] for the plowing and planting of the barrio fields. In 1947, three of the barrios had
rented out the land and used the rental for the barrio. On the whole, many of our
[178] findings for Tepoztlán might be interpreted as confirming Redfield's more general
findings for Yucatán, particularly in regard to the trend toward secularization and
individualization, perhaps less so in regard to disorganization.

CULTURE CHANGE IN TEPOZTLÁN

177 Let us now depart from Redfield's formulation and analyze the changes in Tepoztlán in terms of concrete historical occurrences and their patterns. For this purpose, the history of culture change in Tepoztlán may be divided into three major periods, each with its distinctive characteristics. These periods are (1) from the Spanish Conquest to about 1910; (2) from 1910 to about 1930; (3) from 1930 to the present. The great differences in the lengths of each of these periods correspond, to some extent, to the different rates of change characteristic of each. Furthermore, each period is characterized by changes of a different order.

During the first period, change was on the whole gradual but far-reaching, touching all aspects of life from material culture and technology to social organization, economics, and religion. The changes during this period were the result of outside influence and consisted of the transformation of the culture by the super-imposition of Spanish culture, consisting of both urban and rural elements, on the native culture, with a resultant fusion of the two. During the second period, the changes were caused by a combination of external and internal factors, and changes were more rapid and violent, affecting primarily the social and political organization. The third period was in a sense a continuation of the second, with the changes primarily in the fields of communication, literacy, education, consumption patterns, and values, and with economics, social organization, and religion remaining quite stable. On the whole, but particularly in the field of material culture, the new culture elements in all periods did not supplant but were added to the old, making for a richer and more heterogeneous culture.

FROM THE CONQUEST TO 1910

This period can be divided into two sub-periods: one, from the Conquest to 1810, the colonial period; and two, from 1810 to 1910, the end of the Díaz regime.

The effects of the Spanish Conquest and of Spanish influence during the colonial period were extremely complicated and included both destructive and constructive aspects, disorganization, and reorganization. On the whole, the period was characterized by a sharp population decline due to epidemics, forced labor in the mines of Taxco and Cuautla and on neighboring haciendas, and out migration to escape heavy taxes. Some local industries, such as paper making, pulque manufacture, cotton growing, and weaving declined. Many new culture elements were introduced. In material culture, the most important of these included iron, the plow, oxen, cattle, swine, and other domesticated animals; new food plants and new styles in houses, furnishings, and clothing. Most of these new items were taken up slowly and only by the very small portion of the population that could afford to buy them, generally those of the upper socio-economic group, consisting of the Spaniards, the older *principales*, and their descendants. We have seen that, as late as 1943, less than a third of the families owned plows and oxen.

Some of the elements mentioned above were part of culture complexes which transformed certain aspects of the Indian economy. This point needs to be emphasized because of the tendency, among some students, to view the process of diffusion of Spanish culture in terms of discrete traits. We have shown, for example, that the plow and oxen were more than two traits. Rather they formed part and parcel of a new system of plow culture which involved changes in native concepts of land tenure, in work cycles, in time pressures, in the relation of labor to capital, in the yields, and finally in the effects upon the natural resources.

Other related changes which occurred during the colonial period included the spread of private ownership of land, the practice of renting land, working for wages, the use of money, and the adoption of a European system of weights and measures and the European calendar.

While the documentary evidence for the changes in Tepoztecan social organization during the colonial period is very meager, it might be presumed that the old clan organization broke down and was substituted by the Spanish-type family organization. On the other hand, if we were to judge only from Sahagún's description of family life, which supposedly referred to the pre-Hispanic period, then family life was changed relatively little by the Conquest. In regard to other aspects of the social structure, the evidence is clearer. Class stratification continued, except that a few Spanish and mestizo families took over the leading positions in the newly established local government.[22] The Spaniards introduced their municipal form of government, with locally elected officials and a complicated administrative machinery for the hearing of complaints. Early documents indicate that Indians were elected to office, and that the populace lodged complaints against local officials and haciendas because of the treatment accorded them.

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[22] Our findings for Tepoztlán corroborates the findings for Mexico as a whole. For example, Diffie writes, "For the great masses of Mexican people, the Conquest effected no considerable change in the aristocratic and despotic nature of their administration. They had not participated in the government before, and they did not participate after Spanish domination. Before, they were ruled by an hereditary Indian aristocracy; after, they were ruled by Spaniards who took the place of their old chieftains, or who utilized their old chieftains as instruments of Spanish power." Diffie, *Latin-American Civilization*, p. 275.

Probably the greatest changes took place in religion. As we have seen, Tepoztlán was easily converted to Catholicism, at least as far as the adoption of Catholic forms of worship, which were in many respects similar to native forms. The village became a Dominican center for religious instruction after the convent was built in the middle of the sixteenth century. The unity of church and state made the position of the church strong in Tepoztlán throughout the colonial period. The church was supported by taxes collected by the government, and ecclesiastic and secular authorities worked together in administering the population. Some of the best lands went to the church, and by the close of the colonial period the church was the largest landowner in the village. During this period the church was an active agent for culture change, particularly in its efforts to wipe out native beliefs and to establish Christianity. The church also introduced new plants; the first European vegetables brought to Tepoztlán were planted in the churchyard by the priests.

FROM 1810 TO 1910

This period was one of relative stability; the Wars of Independence from Spain seem to have had little effect on Tepoztlán. Colonial forms of life continued, on the whole, and population increased. However, the Reforms of 1857 had great importance in the village, since the church lost most of its lands. These lands were distributed among a small portion of the population, resulting in the growth of a local aristocracy, the *caciques*, who ruled the village throughout the Díaz regime. The church revived much of its power under the support of the *cacique* class, and religious life was active. Although schools were introduced early in this period, they were attended by a privileged few. A small intelligentsia developed, and for a brief period the upper class in Tepoztlán experienced a cultural florescence.

During the mid-eighties, coffee growing and ropemaking were introduced. Toward the end of the century, the railroad was built through the municipio, and Tepoztecans had their first contact with North Americans. Steel plows and wire fencing came with the railroad. This was a time of relative prosperity for the *caciques*, merchants, and artisans. The railroad encouraged the charcoal industry, giving Tepoztecans a new source of income but at the same time seriously depleting forest resources. Public improvements, such as the Municipal Building, the park and bandstand, and streets were constructed or repaired. The hacienda system was at its height, offering employment to hundreds of Tepoztecans and a market for the artisans.

The abuses of the haciendas and the local *caciques* made for discontent and discord. The people were not permitted to use the communal lands for *tlacolol*, and those who opposed the *cacique* rule were sent off to the army or to jail in Quintana Roo. Inter-village strife over the use of the forests for charcoal resulted in violence and bitterness. Finally, the landlessness and poverty of the majority of Tepoztecans led many to participate in the Revolution which was to come.

FROM 1910 TO 1920

Tepoztlán suffered extremely during the years of the Revolution, and village life 177 was completely disrupted. The village was repeatedly occupied by the opposing 669 forces, homes were burned, crops and animals destroyed, and the people completely impoverished and forced to flee. A large number of Tepoztecans had their first contacts with city life at this time. Village population declined markedly, many having lost their lives in battle or as a result of hunger and illness. With the Revolution, the political power of the *caciques* in Tepoztlán was broken, and the old class distinctions were abolished.[28] The church barely functioned during this period and religious life was at a standstill.

FROM 1920 TO 1930

In the ten years after the Revolution, the village struggled back to normalcy. Population increased rapidly as people returned and as living conditions improved. In 1930, constitutional government was established in the state of Morelos, providing [642] for independent municipios and "free" elections. New political factions arose, reflecting the post-revolutionary tension and unrest, which culminated in a minor civil war in Tepoztlán. The many restrictions placed on the church by the new federal government caused the church to shut its doors, so that religious life was again at a minimum. In 1920, the Colonia Tepozteco was established in Mexico [369] City, exposing Tepoztlán to a permanent and active urbanizing influence.

FROM 1930 TO 1945

The changes which occurred in the past twenty years have been far reaching 177 and may be summarized as follows: a rapid increase in population, an improvement in health services accompanied by some decline in the importance of *curanderos,* a marked rise in the standard of living and the aspiration level of the people, the growth of a class of small landowners, the development of a greater variety and specialization in occupations, a decrease in the use of Náhuatl, and a corresponding spread in the use of Spanish, a rise in literacy and the beginnings of regular newspaper reading, and a greater incorporation of the village into the main stream of national life.

The primary influences for change have been the new road, the granting of *ejidos,* and the expansion of school facilities. Corn mills were also important. Be-

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[28] Here again, the concrete historical data do not follow the logic of the folk-urban continuum. [114] One of the criteria used in Redfield's definition of the folk society is that it is a classless society. [121] As we go toward the urban pole of the folk-urban continuum we might expect greater class differentiation. But Tepoztlán today shows much less class stratification than in 1910, so that we might conclude that Tepoztlán was more of the folk society type today than in 1910. Similarly, the classless society of the future, as envisioned by the socialists, would, according to the folk-urban continuum, have to be considered a folk society. Becker has avoided this difficulty in his sacred-secular dichotomy by setting up subtypes under each category. He distinguishes two types of sacred societies, the folk and the prescribed, each in turn with their subtypes. The socialist society would probably be classified under the sacred-prescribed type.

177 cause these innovations occurred within such a short period, their effects were mu-
tually reenforcing and the tempo of change was accelerated. The road broke down
the barriers of isolation and gave Tepoztlán easy access to new markets; the granting
of *ejidos* supplied a somewhat broader land base, thereby increasing production; the
corn mills improved the lot of the women and gave them free time which they
could devote to commerce and other gainful occupations. The villagers obtained
a new source of income from the sale of their *ciruelas* and other fruits which gained
commercial value after the means of communication were improved. The road
was also responsible for the tourist trade, more frequent social contacts with
Cuernavaca, and indirectly the changes in clothing styles. The bus lines have af-
177 fected village life in more ways than simply that of improving means of com-
munication. They have become a new economic and political force in the village
474 and a new source of conflict. Each line has built up a following of members who
494 have a direct economic interest in their cooperative. The relatives and *compadres*
of these members are also involved in the conflict, and the village is again divided
665 into factions. Furthermore, the directors of the cooperatives are beginning to take
political control out of the hands of the peasants. The employees of the bus co-
operatives now constitute the first important group of non-farmers in Tepoztlán.

177 The school has been an extremely important agent of cultural change in the
village in the past twenty years. As we have seen, enrollment soared from less than
871 100 in 1926 to over 700 in 1948. The school has increased literacy; has taught the
children new standards of personal hygiene and cleanliness; has familiarized them
with toilets, running water, and showers; has introduced new games and a spirit of
group play lacking before. The school has become the symbol of the new in Tepoz-
tlán; it has made for a greater identification with the nation. The school also has
been a great socializing factor. It is breaking down barrio localism and is making
for friendships between individuals in different parts of the village. The school
has offered new outlets for emotional expression.

PATTERNS OF CHANGE

177 In the preceding pages we have focused primarily upon the changes which have
241 occurred in each of the major periods considered. But there have also been stable
elements which have persisted almost intact, not only during the past twenty years,
but since the beginning of the colonial period. This is all the more striking because
of the proximity of the village to Mexico City and Cuernavaca. Perhaps the greatest
stability has been in agriculture. The tools and techniques have remained essentially
the same. Corn and beans are still the major crops. The agricultural economy is
still primarily a subsistence economy. Tepoztlán has managed to hold its communal
lands throughout this period, primarily because these lands are poor and unde-
sirable to the near-by haciendas. This has been a primary factor in stabilizing
Tepoztecan economy, although on a subsistence level with a low standard of living.

177 The persistence of Náhuatl is also noteworthy and was probably related to the
class character of the society. It was primarily *caciques*, merchants, and artisans,
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who had need of Spanish in their dealings with the outside. The peasants traded 177
among themselves and with the Náhuatl-speaking people of near-by villages. With 191
the change in the class structure, the equalizing of opportunities, the greater contacts with the outside, and the increase in school attendance after the Revolution, the use of Spanish has increased.

It is on the psychocultural level that we find the greatest stability and continuity 177
with the past. The reader who is familiar with the ethnographic literature of
Middle America must be impressed with the many similarities in the general 171
quality of inter-personal relations in Tepoztlán, and those reported from more 181
isolated Indian communities in Guatemala. Among some of the similarities are the great value placed on work, the strong ties to the land, the view of farming as the ideal occupation, the persistence of an almost tribal localism, the stability and strength of the family, the continued belief in *los aires, mal ojo,* El Tepozteco, and herbal remedies.

In reviewing the history of cultural change in Tepoztlán since the Spanish Conquest, it is apparent that there is no single formula which will explain the whole 177
range of phenomena. The period of the Spanish Conquest is an example of forced acculturation in which the direction of cultural change was in large measure determined by the conqueror rather than the conquered. The motives of Cortés, who controlled Tepoztlán and the surrounding villages, were to secure Tepoztecan labor for his mines and haciendas and obtain wealth in the form of taxes. He was not concerned with reorganizing Tepoztecan society and certainly was not interested in raising the standard of living. His policy was to interfere as little as possible with native beliefs and practices, except where they directly threatened his interests. As we have seen, he continued the tax system of Moctezuma; he did not alter the native boundaries; he left the Tepoztecans most of their communal lands, taking only the best portions.

It should be noted that many of the traits, such as religion, the calendar, the new system of weights and measures, were essential to the interests of the conquerors. In some cases, the Indians were specifically prohibited from taking on Spanish traits; witness the restrictions placed upon the owning of horses and firearms during the colonial period. Mounted and armed, Indians were obviously a threat to the conquerors.

Another important factor which determined the diffusion of Spanish traits during the colonial period was the inter-marriage of Spaniards with native women. The fact that there were no Spanish women, to teach their culinary and other domestic arts, perpetuated the native cuisine, utensils, and kitchen equipment. Similarly, practices of child rearing remained essentially native. However, the Indian women probably learned many Spanish folk beliefs from their husbands.

In other words, the Conquest affected the work of women much less directly than that of men. The men were forced to leave the village for long periods to work in the mines and haciendas, where they learned European agricultural methods and

177 later introduced them to the village. Here we find a process similar in some respects to the case of the enslavement of the Negro in the New World.[24]

A third factor which conditioned the nature of change in the colonial period was the class structure whereby the Indians or the lower classes were socially isolated from the upper class. This lasted throughout the colonial period and up to the Revolution of 1910.

Another more general factor, which facilitated the diffusion of Spanish culture, was the basic similarities between the native and Spanish colonial cultures. Both were stratified feudal societies, both had a system of communal landholding, in both the religious and social structure was closely interwoven, both had well-developed markets. In addition, they shared many more specific traits, such as the use of flowers with images, pilgrimages to sacred shrines, the use of incense, the concept of lucky and unlucky days, and a host of other items.

Other factors which influenced the diffusion process was the obvious superiority of some Spanish matériel, such as the gun, compared to the bow and arrow; or the tile roof, compared to the thatched roof. Finally, the acceptance of one trait required the acceptance of related traits, as we have seen in some detail in the example of plow culture.

[369] During the nineteenth century most of the changes in the village were in the form of an increasing urbanization of the upper class in the village. However, the more urban culture of this group did not spread widely to the mass of the population primarily because most of the traits were of no practical use and were economically out of their reach. Moreover, unlike the colonial period, there was no new group in the village which stood to benefit by spreading new traits. The only exception to this was a small movement to increase literacy.

The major characteristics of the acculturation process since the Revolution were the increased contacts with the outside, the breakdown of the internal barriers to social mobility, the increase in wealth. In contrast to the colonial period, in which [462] the work of men was primarily affected, it was the work of the women that was affected in this period, by the corn mills, the sewing machines, and the bus lines.

IMPLICATIONS OF CHANGE

What are the implications of the total findings of this study for administrators, social scientists, and others concerned with the problem of improving life in communities like Tepoztlán? In the first place, it is important to recognize that Tepoztecans do not have many of the problems which beset our own modern industrial civilization. In Tepoztlán there is little exploitation of man by man; no single individual or group has power over others. Indeed, the lust for power and prestige motivates few people in this village. Nor are the anxieties and frustrations those which come from living in a highly competitive society, in which the fetish of personal success places a great burden upon the individual.

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[24] See, for example, Herskovits, *Trinidad Village* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1947).

But Tepoztecans have their own problems. Their agricultural resources are 177 limited and of poor quality, their technology is backward, and their productivity low. Less than forty per cent are landowners, and holdings are much too small to 241 support a higher standard of living. Moreover, there is no new land available, since [433] the village is surrounded by other municipios with similar problems. It should be emphasized that, on the whole, Tepoztecans have a profound knowledge of their physical environment and have made as good an adjustment to it as might be expected. They are familiar with the advantages of crop rotation and practice it to [242] the extent to which the size of their landholdings permit. They also know the benefits of letting land lie fallow, but again the majority of families do not have sufficient land to practice it. An ancient form of terracing is used to prevent soil erosion, but this is only partially effective, and erosion continues. Perhaps the most important improvement in agriculture would be the use of commercial fertilizer. Corn production could be doubled in many instances, but the high price of fertilizer makes this a difficult innovation. Irrigation and insect control would also be of great benefit to Tepoztlán.

The prospects of solving the agricultural problems through mechanization are slight. The rough and hilly terrain rules out the use of tractors and the very small size of holdings would make it uneconomical. In fact, even plow culture is becoming a burden because of the increased need of capital. As we have seen, some Tepoztecans are turning to the more primitive system of hillside hoe culture in order to avoid the rising costs of the recent inflationary period. But this system is an anachronism in the modern scene. It is further depleting the communal resources and cannot support an expanding population with a higher standard of living. Although the *ejido* program has helped to relieve the agrarian problem it has by no means solved it in Tepoztlán. It is difficult to see how the standard of living can be appreciably raised in such an environment. As the means of communication improve and the aspirations of the people rise, the move to the city will in all probability increase. That this has not occurred on a larger scale before this is an interesting commentary on the Tepoztecan character. Most of the young people are still quite provincial and fear the dangers of the outside world.

Given the objective limitation of Tepoztecan economy and environment, their 177 history of colonial status over a three-hundred-year period, the instability and 181 chicanery of Mexican politics, and the unplanned and haphazard nature of social change due to urban influence, we can better understand the psychology and world view of the Tepoztecans. It is a psychology of living with problems rather than solving them, of constantly adjusting to difficulties rather than eliminating them.[28]

We have seen that in the increased contact with the outside world in recent years, Tepoztecans have taken many new traits of modern life. They now have Coca-Cola, aspirin, radios, sewing machines, phonographs, poolrooms, flashlights, clocks,

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[28] In a recent paper, discussing Indian and Ladino values, John Gillin has suggested that the drive to manipulate and control the environment was more characteristic of the Ladinos than of the Indians. Following this, Tepoztlán would appear to be more Indian.

177 181 steel plows, and some labor saving devices. They also have a greater desire to attend school, to eat better, to dress better, and to spend more. But in many ways their world view is still much closer to sixteenth-century Spain and to pre-Hispanic Mexico than to the modern scientific world. They are still guided by superstition and primitive beliefs; sorcery, magic, evil winds, and spirits still dominate their thinking. It is clear that, for the most part, they have taken on only the more superficial aspects and values of modern life. Can western civilization offer them no more?

3:Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

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The Changing Village

THE DESCRIPTION of Tepoztlán given in the preceding pages is based largely on my study of the village in 1943. Since that time many changes have occurred both in the village and in Mexico as a whole. Here I will sketch briefly some of the major changes on the national level and then examine those in the village as revealed by my restudy in 1956. In this way the reader can see to what extent Tepoztlán has participated in national trends. 114 177

The Nation

Mexico has undergone great changes since 1940. The population has increased by over ten million to reach a high of about thirty million in 1956. This increase has been accompanied by a surge of urbanization, with millions of peasants and villagers moving into the cities. The population growth of Mexico City has been phenomenal—from one and a half million in 1940 to four million in 1956. The economy has been expanding and the country has become acutely production conscious. A boom spirit has been created reminiscent of the great expansion in the United States at the turn of the century. Many Mexicans believe that their country has found a formula which will soon take it out of the ranks of the underdeveloped nations and will serve as a model to other countries. 177

Achievements in agriculture and industry have been record breaking; in view of the arid nature of the country, those in agriculture are even more impressive than those in industry. Since 1940, about a million and a half hectares have been brought under irrigation; the total harvested area has been increased by about 70 percent; and the number of tractors has increased from 4,600 to over 55,000.

Increased national wealth has led to some improvement in the standard of living of the general population. More and more rural people sleep on beds

3:Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

177 instead of on the ground, wear shoes instead of huaraches or instead of going barefoot, use store-made pants instead of the home-made white *calzones*, eat bread in addition to tortillas, grind their corn in the mill instead of by hand, drink beer instead of pulque, use doctors instead of *curanderos*, and travel by bus or train instead of on foot and on burro. In the towns and cities the trend has been from adobe to cement, from clay pots to aluminum, from charcoal to gas cooking, from tortillas as eating "implements" to tableware, from the *metate* to the electric blender, from phonographs to radios and television, from cotton to nylon, and from cognac to whiskey.

Another significant trend since 1940 has been the increasing influence of United States culture. The major television programs are sponsored by foreign controlled companies and only the use of the Spanish language and Mexican artists distinguish some of the commercials from those in the United States. Such American department store retail practices as self-service, attractive open displays of goods, standardized and guaranteed articles, and fixed prices have been made more popular in the past ten years by stores like Woolworths and Sears and Roebuck. Self-service supermarkets, complete with packaged foods and many with American brands, are opening in the better-to-do neighborhoods of Mexico City and in some of the smaller towns. American-made clothing and shoes are sold in the higher priced shops.

Increased employment in factories and office buildings has led to the spread of the quick lunch, eliminating the midday meal at home as well as the traditional siesta. The American-style breakfast—juice, cereal, ham and eggs, and coffee—has become popular, displacing the traditional beans, chili sauce, and tortillas. The practice of eating roast turkey on Christmas eve has been adopted by some urban middle-class families. The same trend is seen in the substitution of the Christmas tree for the customary Nativity scene and in the giving of gifts on December 25 instead of on January 6, the Day of the Three Kings. The spread of English is also noteworthy. English has replaced French as a second language in the schools.

Despite the increased production and the apparent prosperity, Mexico has many problems to face. Although the national wealth has increased greatly, its uneven distribution has made the disparity between the incomes of the rich and poor more striking than ever before. And despite some rise in the general standard of living, over 60 percent of the population were still ill-fed, ill-housed, and ill-clothed in 1956, 40 percent were illiterate, and 46 percent of the nation's children were not going to school. A chronic inflation since 1940 has squeezed the real income of the poor, and the cost of living for workers in Mexico City has risen five times since 1939. According to the census of 1950 (published in 1955), 89 percent of all Mexican families reporting income earned less than 600 pesos a month or $69 dollars at the 1950 rate of exchange.

The great increase in agricultural production in the past twenty years has been concentrated in only two regions of the country, the north and northwest, where a new commercial agriculture based upon large private holdings, [241] irrigation, and mechanization has developed. The great mass of the peasantry,

including those in Tepoztlán, continue to work their tiny subsistence holdings 177
with traditional backward methods. And the contrast between the old and the
new agriculture in Mexico is becoming sharper: less than 1 percent of the [241]
cultivated land is worked with the aid of the country's 55,000 tractors; about
20 percent of the land is still worked by the pre-Hispanic method of cutting
and burning without benefit of plow and oxen. The production of Mexico's
two basic food crops, corn and beans, has managed to keep up with the rapid
population growth in the past twenty years but the margin of security has been
slight. In drought years Mexico has been forced to spend its precious dollars
to import huge quantities of corn to feed its people.

That the Mexican economy cannot give jobs to all of its people is indicated in the fact that from 1942 to 1955 about a million and a half Mexicans came to the United States as *braceros* or temporary agricultural laborers, and this figure does not include the "wet backs" and other illegal immigration. Mexico has also become increasingly dependent on the United States tourist trade for stabilizing its economy. In 1957, over 700,000 tourists from the United States spent almost 600 million dollars in Mexico, making tourism the single largest industry in the country. The income from the tourist trade is about equal to the total Mexican federal budget.

One aspect of the standard of living which has improved very little since 1940 is housing. With a rapidly rising population and with urbanization, crowding and slum conditions in the larger cities and towns are actually getting worse. Of the 5.2 million dwellings reported in the Mexican census of 1950, 60 percent had only one room and 25 percent two rooms; 70 percent of all houses were made of adobe, wood, poles and rods, or rubble, and only 18 percent of brick and masonry. Only 17 percent had private, piped water.

The Village

How has Tepoztlán changed in the light of these national trends? In
1956 the village did not look much different from the way it looked in 1943. [361]
The plaza and market still seemed rather desolate and unprosperous; no addi- [363]
tional buildings had been built in the center. There were no new streets or [485]
paved roads except for two long cement treads which led up a steep street to
the *Posada del Tepozteco*, the new tourist resort run by an American family. [563]
More automobile and bus traffic entered the village, and trucks came in with [494]
such new items as purified water and tanks of cooking gas for the homes of
the foreign colony.

Village men still carried water to their homes from the nearest foun- 177
tain; women still queued up to have their corn ground at the mills. The older 511
people looked much the same, but the clothes of the younger people were
more varied, colorful, and citified. More young women had short hair and [291]
permanent waves, and one young girl wore blue jeans. The young men wore
modern trousers, shirts, and jackets, and more children had shoes, sweaters,
and store-bought clothes. The small shops sold more canned goods and pack-

177 aged foods, mostly to the employed people who live in the center. Old women
511 sold ready-made tortillas in the plaza. There was still no restaurant but there
[265] were more saloons. A blare of radios came from the houses and inside some
[275] homes one saw a new kerosene or Coleman stove, aluminum pots, kerosene
or gasoline lamps, forks, and hand presses for shaping tortillas. At least one
home had overstuffed furniture.

But many more changes have occurred than meet the eye. As a
[161] result of the population increase—from 3,500 in 1940 to approximately 4,800
in 1957—there is a shortage of housesites and housing, and Tepoztecans petitioned
[362] the local government to make available some of the nearby communal
lands for new housesites. Several homes have been built on the outskirts of the
village and in the surrounding *cerros*. Formerly it was not customary to rent
[427] a house; if a Tepoztecan had an extra house he would allow another villager
to use it simply for the care of it. Now rental has become quite usual.

177 Since the late forties Tepoztlán has had a resident doctor and since
1952 a doctor from Cuernavaca who formerly practiced in the village has
[759] come once a week to see his patients. The clientele of both doctors has been
increasing. In 1950, the resident doctor had an average of 75 patients a
[278] month; by 1956 the average was 160. Tepoztecans now complain about the
expense of medicines and the delay caused by having prescriptions filled in
Cuernavaca; the local "druggist" cannot fill prescriptions and carries few
[743] patent medicines. The village has a free federal government health clinic
which cares for children and pregnant women and administers injections.
[744] About ten patients, most of them expectant mothers, come there every day.
[751] In 1955 approximately two thousand vaccinations and revaccinations were
given.

177 The clinic and the doctor have by no means replaced the *curanderos*,
757 however. Tepoztecans believe that doctors can cure only certain diseases,
753 and still frequent *curanderos* for those illnesses which they attribute to *los
aires*, anger, hot or cold foods, evil eye, and sorcery. Most births are still
[759] attended by the native midwives. If the doctor happens to cure an illness
[844] thought to be caused by *los aires*, this is taken as proof that the *aires* were
not truly the cause. Although the villagers have substituted new terms for old
concepts—for example, *los aires* are now sometimes described as tiny animals
or microbes and injections are called "cleansings"—it is questionable whether
this represents much of a departure from the earlier magical thinking about
the causes of disease.

177 Like many villages in the densely populated central plateau area, Tepoztlán
241 has not had the benefit of the great new hydroelectric and irrigation
[312] projects. Its agricultural base has remained very much the same; there has
been no mechanization and no new important cash crops have been introduced.
[377] The peasants continue to work their land as before, although a few
are now using some commercial fertilizer. Because the lack of change in agriculture
[464] combined with the rapidly increasing population has forced Tepoztecans
to seek work in nonfarm occupations, a much lower proportion of the gainfully
[314] occupied are now peasants. The federal campaign for the preservation of

the forest resources sharply reduced charcoal production in the village and 177
many families have thereby lost a traditional source of income. Some found 241
work as agricultural laborers on the two or three gladiola farms that have [314]
been established in Tepoztlán; others have been employed by the nearby
Y.M.C.A. Many more found work in Cuernavaca or as day laborers on road [464]
construction.

The changes in the occupational structure of the village have accentuated 177
earlier trends. The number of nonagricultural occupations increased from 26 463
in 1944 to 33 in 1956 and the number of people engaged in these occupations
rose from 273 to 565. This increase has been accompanied by greater specialization [241]
and a decline in the role of agriculture in the total economy. In 1944,
approximately 70 percent of those engaged in nonagricultural occupations also
farmed; in 1956, the comparable figure was only 25 percent! Today there is
a much greater participation of women in the nonagricultural occupations [462]
than formerly. Women still predominate as teachers, *curanderos*, and corn
merchants, but they now are also full-time tortilla makers, dressmakers, and
hairdressers. Other new occupations in the village are those of tailor, *ciruela*
merchant, and milk merchant. The increase in the number of teachers has
been striking—from 21 in 1944 to 101 in 1956, an indication of the growth [875]
of a middle class in the village. Whereas formerly there was a shortage of [565]
teachers in the village, there is now a shortage of teaching jobs, and 70
Tepoztecans teach in rural schools outside of the village. Other occupations
that have shown a large increase in numbers are: bus line employees, from
22 to 35; barbers, from 15 to 22; butchers, from 15 to 32; and storekeepers,
from 20 to 64.

The distribution of people engaged in nonagricultural occupations by
barrio shows an intensification of the older pattern of concentration in the [621]
larger central barrios: La Santísima, 27 percent; Santo Domingo, 25 percent;
San Miguel, 23 percent; Santa Cruz, 11 percent; San Sebastian, 8 percent; Los
Reyes, 5 percent; and San Pedro, 1 percent. Similarly, 85 percent of those
engaged in the new occupations come from the three central barrios. The
trend toward barrio differentiation of occupations, however, has been offset
by a spread of services from the central plaza to the barrios. Each barrio now
has its own corn mill and at least one store. Another interesting and symptomatic [256]
change has been the rise in the number of money lenders—from about [426]
6 in 1944 to 18 in 1956. This reflects a much greater need for cash as well
as an influx of wealth.

The only occupations that have shown a decline in the number of
members since 1944 are those of carpenter, *curandero*, *chirimitero* (flute
player), maguey fiber collector, and charcoal maker. The *huehuechiques* [794]
(ceremonial barrio officers) have completely disappeared, as I predicted in
my earlier study. The *chirimiteros* are being replaced by modern secular [533]
musicians. As noted earlier, the decline in charcoal making was forced on the
village by the federal authorities.

The most dramatic occupational change and one which has become [464] [434]
a major new source of income to the village is the *bracero* movement. In 1948, [167]

177 fewer than thirty Tepoztecans were *braceros*—that is, temporary agricultural
464 workers in the United States; by 1957, over six hundred men had been *braceros*
167 for periods that varied from forty-five days to over a year. This occupational
[463] change has made for other great changes in the village. In 1943, Tepoztlán
suffered from an acute land shortage. Now, because in many cases the *braceros*
return to the village only to rest a few months before setting out for another
period in the United States, it suffers from a shortage of manpower, and many
[433] *milpas* go unculivated. The *braceros* earn more in some months in the United
[434] States than they could earn in almost two years in the village, and many of
them have invested their savings in improvements for their houses and in
[454] land and cattle. Many have brought home portable radios, mechanical toys,
[294] clothing, and cloth—the village now has four full-time tailors who are kept
busy providing tailor-made pants for the villagers. Although the *bracero* move-
ment has broadened the perspective of some Tepoztecans, who now greet
[186] American visitors with a few words of English, most of the *braceros* are isolated
in work camps or on farms, speak no English, live on a Mexican diet, and on
the whole learn little about the United States and its way of life. Very few
learn agricultural skills that can be applied in the village.

Most of the *braceros* from Tepoztlán are young men between the ages
[556] of twenty and thirty. They come predominantly from the upper segments of
the lower economic group (Group I) but also from the middle group II (see
p. 37). Few come from the poorest families and fewer from the wealthier fami-
lies of Group III. This is an interesting change from the pattern in the early
forties when only individuals with political connections and with experience
outside of the village became *braceros*. At that time most Tepoztecans feared
[186] to leave the village for a distant country or even to go to the government
recruiting stations for *braceros* in Mexico City. With more education, the
younger generation developed a greater readiness to explore the outside world
and to dare the hazards of a long journey. The sudden spurt in *bracerismo* did
not occur, however, until a school teacher in one of the outlying villages became
[875] a *bracero* recruiter (locally called *coyote*). He had been a *bracero* himself and
knew how to make the necessary legal arrangements. Tepoztecan men paid
him a fee in the hope that he would get them longer contracts and also jobs
in California rather than in Texas or Arkansas. The fees, which the *coyote*
purportedly shared with government authorities, ranged from 200 to 400 pesos
depending on the length of time of work specified in the contract. Most of the
[426] villagers who signed up had to borrow from local money lenders at the usual
high rate of interest but they had avoided having to deal directly with the
authorities and so had found the courage to take the initial step.

[433] The *bracero* movement has served as a partial though temporary solu-
[648] tion of the agrarian problem in the village. Tepoztlán has become dependent
on the United States economy. Were the United States suddenly to close its
borders to Mexican *braceros*, there would probably be a crisis both in the
village and in the nation.

177 Another important change in Tepoztecans is their greater readiness to
sell their land. In 1943, it was difficult to find anyone in the village who would
425 consider selling a housesite or an agricultural plot. For example, in 1942 a

leading Mexican banker who wanted to build a home in the village negotiated 177
for over a year before he succeeded in buying a modest-sized idle plot of 425
land whose owner was living in Mexico City. By 1956, Tepoztecans had sold [563]
almost forty plots to as many outsiders for building homes in the village and
in the lovely valley below. Tepoztecan middlemen are now speculating in land
because of the steadily rising prices. A village site valued at about 50 centavos [435]
per square meter in 1943 sold in 1957 for as much as 12 pesos a meter (100
centavos to the peso).

Tepoztlán has become an international tourist colony. The non- 177
Tepoztecan home owners now include native Mexicans, naturalized Mexican 563
citizens of Spanish, French, German, Dutch, Japanese, and Italian ancestry,
and a few Americans. Few of these people live in the village the year around
but spend their holidays and vacations there. The construction of thirty-five [464]
new homes for the foreign colony has given employment to some Tepoztecan
masons and day laborers. Some of the building materials—stone, sand, and
tiles—also have been purchased locally. A number of the families have taken
Tepoztecan girls as domestic servants both in the village and in their Mexico [357]
City or United States homes, and about a dozen Tepoztecans have jobs as [167]
caretakers. The colony also provides some additional income to local meat and
milk dealers and other merchants. On the whole, the "foreigners" form few
friendships in the village and except for the *Carnaval* participate very little in
village affairs. It is said that most of the outsiders opposed the campaign to
bring electricity to Tepoztlán for fear that it might spoil the primitive rustic
quality of the village. It should be noted that among the non-Tepoztecans who
have lived in the village are some of Mexico's leading intellectuals and artists
and a few doctors. Some of these men have taken a great interest in the villagers [365]
and have helped them in their efforts to build a new high school, to
obtain city water, and most recently (June 1958) to procure electricity. [346]

Other forms of tourism have also grown rapidly and tourist facilities 177
have improved. Most important has been the conversion of the banker's private 485
home into one of the most charming resorts in Mexico, the *Posada del Tepozteco.* Since the late forties, Mexican and Hollywood movie producers have [648]
used Tepoztlán as the setting for a number of movies.

Since 1943, educational facilities have been expanded in the village. 177
Two new schools built in the larger barrios gave the village a total of four 871
elementary schools. Attendance rose from about 750 in 1950 to over 900 in
1956. In 1950, a high school was completed, and attendance rose from 54 in
the first year to 110 in 1956. Boys still predominate over girls in both elementary
and high schools. The surrounding villages have begun to reach out
for higher education and now send their children to the central high school
in Tepoztlán. Each year a number of Tepoztecan high-school graduates go on
to the university in Mexico City.

In the past ten years bus travel to Cuernavaca has almost doubled and 177
travel to Mexico City also has increased. On an average week day approximately 484
500 Tepoztecans take the bus to Cuernavaca to work, shop, study, sell 494
produce, and to find recreation. Some of the peasants now think it worthwhile
to take the bus to their *milpas,* a distance of two or three kilometers, rather

177 than spend the time and energy in walking. A count made on a Wednesday in
494 July 1956 showed that 84 vehicles entered the village and 94 left it between
[484] 5 A.M. and 9 P.M. Thirty-six percent were buses which ran about two times
an hour in both directions (to and from Cuernavaca), 41 percent were passenger
cars, and 23 percent were trucks. The trucks carried various products—
corn, pigs, plants, beer, gravel, groceries, soft drinks, and petroleum. A similar
count made on a Sunday gave a total of 373 vehicles entering and leaving.
The buses carried approximately 800 passengers during the day.

177 In 1943, the number of radios in the village was only three or four; by
1956 it had risen to eighty, battery operated, for electricity had not yet come
403 to the village. The owners were mainly under forty; older people showed little
571 interest in radios. Most of them had been bought in Cuernavaca since 1950 at
[435] prices ranging from 400 to 3,500 pesos. They were intended chiefly for family
use but their presence has increased visiting and sociability among the younger
[574] people. The listeners are usually not program conscious. Whenever they want
to listen to something, they turn the dials to whatever sounds good. *Ranchero*
music is the most popular attraction, news a secondary item. Major obstacles
to the further use of radios have been lack of money and the absence of
[377] electricity, which meant trouble and expense in keeping the batteries charged.
About 15 percent of the sets were not working in July 1956 because the batteries
had run down. Tepoztecans who had relatives or *compadres* among bus
drivers could have their batteries installed in a bus for a day and so have
them charged without cost.

In 1956, as part of a federal government project to improve communications,
177 a telephone exchange was installed in a small grocery store in Tepoztlán.
206 Six phones were listed for the village in the Cuernavaca directory, almost
all of them for local businesses. Storekeepers can now make orders, politicians
can arrange meetings, and in emergencies ambulances and doctors can be
reached by phone. During the day, calls are sent and received through the
central office; at night, when the central office is closed, calls go to the *Posada*.
[465] The grocer charges 50 centavos to call someone to the phone, provided they
live near the center of the village. During my stay in the village in 1956 a
few calls from Hollywood were received by the village government—arrangements
for the filming of another movie in Tepoztlán were in process!

177 Tepoztlán now has a movie, operated by a villager who had been a
bracero. The movies are shown on week-ends from October to May in one of
546 the large rooms of the municipal building which seats about 300 people. The
movie business is an insecure one in Tepoztlán, however; it cannot always
successfully compete with the fiestas. Most of the films are Mexican cowboy
and war pictures which appeal to young people. Adults over forty do not
frequent the movies and most of the peasants do not permit their daughters
to attend.

177 Despite the higher educational level, greater travel, and the increase in
204 radios, our data suggest that there has been no increase in the number of
people who read newspapers. On the contrary, there seems to have been some
decline since 1943. In 1956, only about twenty-five individuals read a news-

paper with some regularity and none of them were peasants. Magazine reading 177
has increased, however. In 1956, about fifty villagers had magazine subscriptions. 204
About half of these were for *Selecciones*, the Spanish version of the
Readers Digest; others were for such publications as *Life, La Granja, La
Tierra, La Sevilla.* Over a third of the subscriptions were held by teachers and [875]
most of the others by persons in nonagricultural occupations. The majority of
the subscribers were under fifty, and reading was predominantly done by the
men. Except for school teachers and some officials, few people owned books,
but many children read comics.

Related to the developments noted above are changes in every stage of 177
the life cycle, particularly the rearing of children. Again, most of the changes 556
are found in the middle economic group, and the following discussion of the
direction of change applies mainly to this group. Changes are occurring among
the tradition-oriented members of the lower groups also, but at a much slower
rate.

Women still prefer to give birth on a *petate* with the help of a midwife, 177
but a doctor is often called in for difficult cases. Many young women are 84
rejecting some of the "Indian" customs and cures of the midwives—the food
taboos, for example, the use of smoke to help labor, and the wearing of the [262]
huipil. Magical practices like burying the first milk or throwing it over the [291]
roof are being discarded. Because more babies are being bottle-fed, the druggist [853]
now keeps a supply of baby bottles and nipples, as well as of formula mixtures.
Young women feel less need to follow such customs as sweatbaths or
the forty-day postpartum seclusion before the *sacamisa.*

A definite trend toward greater child-orientedness on the part of both 177
parents is evident. Parents tend to be more permissive and more demonstratively 855
affectionate with their young children. More fathers can be seen on the
street carrying small children and a few help a little with the children at
home. The swaddling of infants has been completely abandoned as "cruel" by [854]
some mothers. Parents indulge their children more, especially the first-born,
and openly show their pride in their infants by buying them toys, shoes, and
attractive clothing. This is in sharp contrast with the older attitude of guarding
children from the attention of others through fear of the "evil eye." Younger
and more educated parents punish more lightly, permit more play, and send 177
their children to school for as long as possible. The period of adolescence is
becoming longer and more clearcut, and the time when youths are expected to [882]
contribute to the support of the family is often delayed by years of study.

Arranged marriages have completely disappeared and more couples are [58]
marrying for love. Church weddings have become more elaborate and expensive
and are patterned after those of the urban middle class. Newlyweds try to set
up independent households immediately after marriage or as soon as it is [591]
economically feasible to avoid the problems of living with mothers-in-law. [462]
Some young wives work as school teachers or shopkeepers, but this is still unusual.
More couples are resorting to legal divorce rather than mere separation [58]
or abandonment.

A noticeable change has occurred also among the educated middle group [156] [571]

177 in attitudes and values and in the quality of interpersonal relations. It is too
156 early to tell how deeply these changes have affected the ethos and character
571 of the villagers, but all signs point in the direction of more profound changes
to follow. In 1956, Tepoztecans seemed on the whole more outgoing and
[609] friendly and less bothered by the presence of outsiders. Children were noisier
and smiled more; they were as apt to run toward as away from a stranger.
Indeed, they begged tourists for centavos. Small groups of unchaperoned
[882] adolescent girls laughing and talking together were not unusual sights, and
occasionally a village girl might be seen walking side by side with a boy in
broad daylight. In general, the villagers were more accepting of their sophisticated
[476] members and provincialism seemed to be on the wane. There was more
competition for jobs and scholarships and in general display.

That Tepoztecans have more drive and ambition for self-improvement
is obvious. The young people are restless and have found the courage to leave
[167] the village to look for better opportunities. They are making greater demands
on their parents for education, and they have more confidence in and more
ability to cooperate with people outside the family over longer periods of time.
177 Friendship not based on formal reciprocal relationships has become increasingly
[572] important; *compadrazgo* has assumed a new significance in providing
connections and social advantages. Material success and a higher standard of
[608] living are consciously admired and worked for and the motivation to hide
[556] wealth is weaker. Respect has come to be based more and more on wealth and
[555] social status. Education imparts higher status; a young man or woman who
has a teacher's certificate expects to be treated more respectfully by his or her
[875] elders. The middle class, especially, feel that status is also gained by discarding
[771] folk beliefs and practices and becoming more Catholic.

It is apparent, then, that Tepoztlán has made great strides ahead in
177 the past fifteen years. The changes have been uneven, however, and not all the
433 sectors of the population have equally benefited. Faced with limited agricultural
resources, low yields, an absence of irrigation, and little prospect of solving
their agricultural problems through mechanization, the villagers have by-passed
their agrarian problem and have instead become dependent on new occupations
and on jobs outside the village.

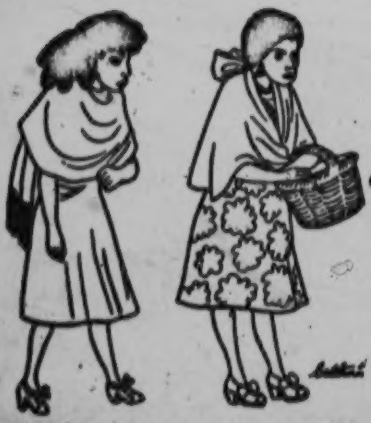
Most of the changes in the village are enjoyed by the middle economic
177 group which even in 1943 had shown the most initiative and interest in raising
556 its level of living. This group has doubled in size and now constitutes about
565 25 percent of the total population. Moreover, it is no longer merely an
economic group; it is emerging rather as a true middle class, consisting of professionals,
white-collar employees, and self-employed artisans and shopkeepers
whose values and goals have come to differ substantially from those of the
peasantry. The sharpening cleavage between the middle and lower economic
groups, between peasant and nonpeasant, is perhaps the most far-reaching and
significant change in the village.

Although the lower economic group is proportionately smaller than it
was in 1943, it still constitutes the great majority of the villagers—approximately
[434] 65 percent. Our data suggest that this group has become even poorer, both
because of inflation and because its members have been deprived of a tradi-

tional source of income by the prohibiting of charcoal production. Members 177
of the lower segments of this group have gained least from the processes 556
set in motion by the Mexican Revolution. They have been unable or 565
unwilling to leave the village for jobs in the cities or to work as *braceros*. They [434]
have taken least advantage of the greater educational opportunities. They [167]
continue to farm for subsistence and cling to the old ways of life largely
because these are cheaper.

As Tepoztlán moves further into the modern world, it is leaving behind 177
its Indian language, many of its Indian customs, its local autonomy and the [191]
collective forms of pre-Hispanic times. Even the communal lands—the bulwark
of the traditional order and formerly one of the most important bases for the [423]
corporate life of the community—seem destined to be divided up into *ejido*
plots, and perhaps later into private holdings. With improved means of
communication, greater faith in technology, greater dependence on a money
economy and outside jobs, increasing occupational specialization, and a desire for [571]
a higher level of living, a change has come about also in the character of the
people. As we have seen, Tepoztecans are now less suspicious, less withdrawn, [156]
and more concerned with personal development.

Tepoztlán today poses many questions which can be answered only with time. Will the growing individualism bring greater anxiety and frustration? Will it bring greater participation and trust in government? Will the traditional patterns of village life be able successfully to incorporate and reinterpret the present new elements—as has often been done with new elements in the past—or will the old and stable village culture soon be unrecognizable? Will Tepoztecans continue to sell their ancient lands and thereby convert Tepoztlán into a miniature Cuernavaca? Will the recent arrival of electricity be followed by the establishment of factories and the growth of a landless proletariat? Or will the village culture absorb the industrialism that seems to be on its way as some other villages have done?



[291]

Changes in village culture are exemplified in changing styles.

[p 104 not processed]

> . . . while the ancient Mexicans extended their ceremonialism to greater lengths than do most of the ritualized Christian sects, yet the relationship between the Aztecs and their gods and the Christians and their saints is not so very dissimilar, different as are the ultimate concepts of the two religions.[8] 795

In approaching Catholicism anthropologically, one must consider the culture retention which obtains from earlier practices and culture change within the dynamics of the social organization of the Church. M. D. W. Jeffreys has developed this thought in his recent very instructive article, "Some Rules of Directed Culture Change under Roman Catholicism".[9] In the beginning of the Catholic Church in Mexico, following [177] the Conquest, the Spanish friars built upon the then already existing patterns of religious behaviour. Some have maintained that the ancient forms were merely superimposed upon paganism, as a kind of veneer. The answer to this claim lies in the fact that from the beginning, the Catholic Church has followed the purpose "not to destroy, but to fulfill".

The perennial question arises, especially in the barrios, as to 795 what kind of relation exists between the people and the formal 794 Church. Among Catholics everywhere, the concept of saintly 776 intervention is a common one indeed. The barrio chapels are dedicated to saints, who have been said to have become the gods of the barrios. It is recognized that there is some relationship between the practice of patronizing a saint and earlier Aztec practices common in this village. It does not follow, however, that because of the strong Aztec influences of the past, or the similarities to be found between Aztec and Catholic practices, the nature of the Communion of Saints in the Christian tradition is entirely missed. Simple people do not readily distinguish pure spirit, and require symbols to represent such mysteries as the Godhead or the Trinity. There is much evidence to the effect that religious feelings and beliefs in the barrios though ex- 794 pressed through folk ways, are in harmony with the formal 795

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[8] George C. Vaillant, *The Aztecs of Mexico.* New York, Doubleday Doran & Co., 1944. Penguin Books, Pelican Edition, 1950, p. 178.

[9] *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 58, No. 4, (August, 1956), pp. 721-731.

121 795 of Roman Catholicism[13]. We might add that anthropological techniques can be further refined to enhance our study of village folk life along these lines.

Can the Catholic observer in largely Catholic areas retain objectivity? Certainly his scientific norms will be no different from those of other observers. His only advantage is in his role as a participant observer who is accepted as a Catholic. This advantage can be used constructively or otherwise, depending upon the circumstances surrounding his Catholicity. As for the villagers themselves, whether in the role of the parish priest and his major assistants, or in the role of the mayordomos and other barrio helpers, the investigator is looked upon as one who can and does share in some of the deeply emotional patterns of a religious nature. Any investigator can recognize that in rural Mexico, Catholicism was superimposed upon a previous system, but whether or not the factual details of the Catholic Faith are recognized implies considerable familiarity with Catholic thought. Of course it must be admitted that if Catholicism is a religious fact, as well as a fact of social organization to the observer, it might be anticipated that some recognition would be given to the essentials of the formal Church while not discounting the indigenous folkways of the people, as is so frequently observed in barrio religious life.

177 795 [121] It has been our final conclusion and one which we were not predisposed to accept, that the folk expression of Catholicism in this village appears to be in conformity with the formal intentions of the Roman Catholic Church. This is the reversal of our initial impression. Some Aztec residues which have been transposed into Catholic form were noted, along with evidences of early Spanish interpretation of Catholicism which are unique to that culture. Upon this foundation has been built, however, a genuine indigenous form of religious expression which is truly folk in that

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[13] Everett C. Hughes, "The Early and the Contemporary Study of Religion; An Editorial Foreword", *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LX, No. 6, (May, 1955), pp i-iv.

it arises out of the inner feelings and convictions of the people, 177
and truly Catholic in that it is in harmony with the intentions 795
of the formal Church.

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Case 15

MEDICINE AND POLITICS IN A MEXICAN VILLAGE

by Oscar Lewis

In writing about the community and the health officer, Dr. George Rosen urges us "to recognize first of all that the community is a power structure. Somewhere it has a locus of authority. There are people in it who decide what many other people shall or shall not do, how they shall live and work, and many other fundamental matters." Any new venture in the health field will stand or fall partly on its merits and partly on its implications for strengthening or weakening the prevailing pattern of power. This has been documented in Dr. Kimball's case study of an Alabama community and in the Brazilian study by Dr. Oberg and Mr. Rios. In yet another form, it is again exemplified in Dr. Lewis' case study. 114

Dr. Lewis relates a troublesome episode that formed part of the field experience upon which his book, Life in a Mexican Village, *is based. The importance of the present study rests on what it reveals about overt and covert aspects of the power process. It reviews the intricate maneuvers by which a psychological research project was played off against a medical service originally set up in response to popular request. For instances of other programs combining research and service activities, the reader is referred to the Canadian study by Dr. John and Dr. Elaine Cumming, the Thai study by Dr. Hanks and his associates, and the Wellesley case study by Dr. Naegele.*—Editor

THE PROBLEM

Villagers Stop Using a Local Clinic

Shortly after arriving in the Mexican village of Tepoztlán in 1943, our community research team began to meet with the heads of families in various parts of the settlement to make ourselves known and to explain why we were there. Although our primary objective was to study village life rather than to change it, the villagers took advantage of these introductory occasions to direct attention to their pressing problems. They pointed out that their lands were becoming increasingly sterile, that for lack of water they could raise only a single crop a year, that they needed an-

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123 other school, and that there was no doctor in their village. One
● 177 dignified, elderly Tepoztecan expressed the general attitude when
he said, "Many people have come here to study us, but not one
743 of them has helped us."

657 At the same time the Mexican government, through its Department of Health and Welfare, was concerned over the problem of resistance to modern medicine in some of the rural areas. They wanted to know more about the reasons behind the apparent lack of confidence in modern doctors and the difficulties encountered in trying to win the villagers away from native *curanderos*.

Acceding to the wishes of both the villagers and the government, we decided to set up a small medical clinic in Tepoztlán. The villagers had made it clear that if they were to cooperate by satisfying our research aims, they would expect something practical in return. They had expressed a need for improved medical service, and the clinic appeared to be a good answer to the problem. Federal officials similarly declared themselves more willing to cooperate with us if some of our research work was designed to throw light on problems faced by the government. The Department of Health and Welfare was reluctant to furnish a doctor solely to perform examinations in connection with purely theoretical research on personality development, as we had requested, but readily agreed to send a doctor to treat patients of the proposed medical clinic in Tepoztlán. The Department also became very much interested in our suggestion that the doctor experiment by discussing disease and cure with his patients in terms of native concepts, rather than ignoring these as "unscientific," as a method of establishing rapport and winning confidence.

The plan to establish a clinic thus appeared to answer expressed needs of both local and government people and to provide a way for [illegible] to obtain the active cooperation of both these groups. Arrangements were made to obtain the facilities for the clinic, and a doctor was sent by the Mexican Health and Welfare Department. The clinic was only one part of a broader program of services made available to the villagers at their behest. In addi-
[654] tion, two agronomists and four social workers were brought in to serve the villagers. Little or no opposition was encountered to their work and to the research itself.

During the first week, in early February, the clinic had 11 177
patients and after about two months, this number increased to 35. 743
Then abruptly, in April, patients stopped coming, and the clinic
came to a complete standstill. What lay behind the failure of the 121
clinic? Why should attendance cease so suddenly and completely in the face of an expressed need by both the government and the villagers? To find the answers, we must understand the social structure and the people of Tepoztlán: their resources, hopes, fears, and attitudes toward authority. Because the medical service program was only one part of our team's activities and because the parts became linked in devious ways, it is also essential to explain the psychological phase of our research and the response it engendered.

THE SITUATION

A Requested Service Is Ensnared in Political Intrigue

Tepoztlán and Its People

Tepoztlán is an ancient highland village of about 3,500 people 105
15 miles from Cuernavaca, the capital of the state of Morelos, and 60 miles south of Mexico City. Since 1936 it has been connected by a paved road to the highway running between Mexico City and Cuernavaca and has daily bus service. Tepoztlán is located just above the malaria area and is considered one of the most healthful spots in the state of Morelos, with one of its lowest death rates. However, this is a relative matter. The average rate of infant mortality for the period 1930 to 1940 was 102.3, and the general mortality rate for the same period was 20.2.

The village includes peasants, artisans, and shopkeepers, but over 90 per cent of the 853 families earn their living from agriculture. Most of the land is mountainous, forested, and depleted. Less than 15 per cent of the total land area is arable and only a single crop of corn is harvested each year. Some own their agricultural plots or have rights to certain parcels of the public land which remain with the farmers as long as they continue to work them. Other farmers must till the poor soil of the stony hillsides belonging to the community and free to anyone who wishes to cut

105 and burn away the trees and bushes every two or three years in order to plant corn and beans. Rapid erosion prevents the poor-land farmer from using the same hillside clearing year after year.

Both Spanish and Nahuatl, the native Indian language, are spoken in the village. About half of the people are bilingual, the other half speaking only Spanish. More than 40 per cent of the adults are illiterate. There are two schools in the village attended by more than 500 children.

The village is divided into seven *barrios*, each with its patron saint, internal religious organization, festivals, and a plot of land worked collectively by the men of the barrio to provide for the upkeep of the chapel. There is considerable esprit de corps among barrio members who act as a cooperative unit on some occasions. The barrio is a more meaningful unit to many villagers than the official governmental divisions of the village into political wards. In addition to the seven barrio chapels, there is also a large central village church with a resident Catholic priest.

105 177 The village has changed in important ways since the Revolution. These changes may be summarized as follows: a rapid increase in population; some improvement in modern health services, threatening the position of the curanderos; a rise in the standard of living and in the aspiration level of the people; a decrease in the number of peon and landless families (formerly these constituted the bulk of the families); the growth of a greater variety and specialization of occupations; a decrease in the use of Nahuatl and a corresponding spread in the use of Spanish; a rise in literacy and the beginnings of newspaper reading.

In sharp contrast to the rapid changes which have occurred in other aspects of life, there has been no comparable improvement in the agricultural techniques and capacities of the village. This has given rise to a dilemma; on the one hand, there is a rapidly increasing population and a higher aspiration level, while on the other hand, there is a growing sterility of the land, decreasing yields, and progressive difficulty in satisfying newly felt needs.

Setting Up the Clinic

177 743 Once we had decided to set up a medical clinic, we began to plan its organization. At first we considered the idea of setting up

a temporary clinic to last only for the duration of the assignment of the doctor provided by the Department of Health and Welfare. Later, however, at the suggestion of the Department, we decided to establish the clinic as a village cooperative. The cooperative form of organization was being encouraged by the federal government at that time, on the assumption that it was in accord with native tradition. We also believed that a cooperative would be more useful in that the doctor might be kept on by the village itself long after we had left and the doctor's original assignment expired. Moreover, we viewed this enterprise as an experiment in setting up a democratic institution in a village in which the tradition of democracy was practically absent, and as a test of the readiness and ability of the Tepoztecans for such an organization. 177 743 [474]

The plan for the cooperative was fully explained to the local authorities in Tepoztlán, especially to the mayor of the municipality, and it seemed to meet with his interest and approval. When a doctor was finally obtained from the Department of Health and Welfare, the mayor was asked to call a meeting of the entire community to introduce the doctor and to discuss plans for the cooperative. He promised to call such a meeting but never did. The members of our mission thereupon visited many of the families in each barrio, and a meeting of the villagers was arranged. A Tepoztecan band was hired to create a fiesta atmosphere, for we had already learned that practically the only occasion that will bring Tepoztecans together is a fiesta. More than 160 Tepoztecans attended the meeting. This was a good turnout for the village, considering their general lack of confidence. The organization of the cooperative was discussed, and many Tepoztecans participated in the discussion. [643]

It was decided to charge a membership fee of one peso, and 25 centavos a month thereafter. In addition, members were to pay one peso to consult the doctor, and this would include free medicines. The money collected was to form a fund for the purchase of medicines and other supplies and for paying the rent of the doctor's office. The ultimate objective was for the cooperative to be self-supporting, even to the extent of paying for a doctor if it had to. It was hoped that the six-month period for which the doctor was assigned by the Department of Health and Welfare 177 743 474

177 would give the cooperative the opportunity to accumulate the
743 necessary funds to carry on independently.

474 It was believed by the staff and borne out by the consensus of
177 the first meeting that the barrio provided the most logical basis
743 upon which a cooperative organization could be built because it
was the primary cooperative unit in the social organization of the
474 village. As already indicated, each barrio has its own patron saint,
621 its chapel, its own festivals, and a plot of land which is commu-
[476] nally worked by the men of the barrio to provide for the upkeep
of the chapel. Fiestas were traditionally organized on a barrio
basis, and in recent years participation in sports events has been
on a similar basis. Thus, the few cooperative activities in the vil-
[794] lage were barrio activities. Furthermore, the barrio chose its own
[631] ceremonial officials in a fairly democratic fashion, whereas the
village officials, though nominally elected, were in practice chosen
by the governor of the state of Morelos. In organizing the co-
operative on a barrio basis, we were therefore attempting to tie it
to a geographical and social unit which still retained some of its
indigenous cooperative traditions.

At the mass meeting a central village committee of seven members was elected, one from each barrio, and provisions were made for the election of barrio committees consisting of three persons each. These local committees were to be charged with recruiting members in their barrios and with popularizing the cooperative. The meeting ended on a hopeful note, and the central committee promised to get right to work organizing the barrio committees. But at the first scheduled meeting of the central committee, only three members appeared, and this was symptomatic of what was to follow. After three weeks, only three of the seven barrio committees had been organized.

177 In the meantime, the doctor furnished by the Department of
Health and Welfare arrived in Tepoztlán. A room in a house on
743 the central plaza was obtained as an office. Essential equipment
759 and medicines were purchased out of the first funds collected by
[474] the cooperative. Although no nurse was available, the social
worker attached to the community research project assumed some
of the nursing duties and accompanied the doctor on home visits.
In addition to his clinic duties, the doctor worked in a research

capacity with another part of the program, but he remained on call at all times for clinical services. 177 743

[759] 177 743 125 In line with our intention that the clinic serve a research function in addition to its service activities, it was planned that in addition and prior to the usual physical examination of each patient, the doctor should also use forms that called for the following kinds of information: a textual account of the history and causes of the diseases from the patient's point of view; whether the patient visited the curandero; the diagnoses and therapy of the curandero; the fees paid, and so on. The doctor was expected to utilize this information wherever possible in establishing rapport with the patient. Furthermore, it was hoped that in this way it would be possible systematically to obtain important data on native concepts of disease and therapy, and by comparing the diagnosis of the patient and the curandero with that of the doctor, to understand better the rationale behind native concepts.

177 743 759 [474] Since funds from the cooperative came in slowly, the facilities of the clinic were never quite adequate. In addition, the first doctor furnished by the Department of Health and Welfare was a young, unmarried man whose previous experience was limited and had been confined to urban areas. Neither by training nor temperament was he particularly well fitted for the sensitive and demanding task of treating the people of a rural Mexican village. After a month, he was replaced by an older doctor with more experience.

177 743 However, our initial difficulties in getting a suitable physician and adequate equipment did not appear to trouble the prospective clients of the clinic. During the first week, as already indicated, the doctor had 11 patients, and subsequently the figure slowly increased to 35. Then quite suddenly, patients ceased to come altogether. For all intents and purposes, the clinic was through.

It would be tempting at this point to attribute the demise of the clinic to the inadequacies of its doctors and physical facilities and to look no further to find reasons for its downfall. But such an explanation would be partial at best. In the first place, the drop in attendance was abrupt and complete, not the gradual falling off one might expect to result from cumulative dissatisfactions.

177 743 Second, as we shall see, there are good reasons for believing that much the same thing would have happened even if the service had been excellent and the physical facilities exemplary. Although we cannot discount completely the effect of dissatisfaction over the quality of the clinical service, it will become apparent that other forces at work in Tepoztlán exerted greater influence. To discern the nature of these forces we must look to the general climate of the village, particularly the medical and political climate.

The Medical Climate of Tepoztlán

The trial clinic on the central plaza of Tepoztlán was not introduced into a medical vacuum. On the contrary, it found itself within a milieu of well-established medical beliefs and theories of disease and within a network of traditional practitioners whose curative techniques reflected these beliefs and theories.

759 There are three kinds of health practitioners in Tepoztlán—curanderos, *mágicos*, and "el doctor." Curanderos are the most numerous and are primarily women. They are visited most frequently and charge small fees of 25 or 50 centavos. There are two [756] mágicos, men who may use the herb remedies of the women but also resort to spiritualism and magic and are feared for their great power. Their fees are higher, ranging between one and ten pesos. The curanderos and mágicos are, of course, Tepoztecans. However, "el doctor" is an outsider who has taken up residence in the village. He poses as a doctor but has no professional training. He charges fees as high as 100 pesos. Curanderos are sometimes paid [437] in corn or other produce. This is one of the very few remnants of the old barter economy and indicates how closely the curandero [182] system and the native economy were integrated. With the increasing dominance of a money economy there is now more cash available, and some families visit the doctors in Cuernavaca.

There was no resident doctor in 1943, but the villagers had had some previous experience with doctors and modern medicine. Two young Mexican doctors had spent six months each in the village in fulfillment of their training requirements for the doctor's degree. [744] Public health teams had visited the village frequently since 1936 to administer injections against infectious diseases;

759 clientele insist that the seven women help him treat the sick and perform a series of mysterious devotions which he practices nearly every night.

755 The technique employed by Don Rosas on his patients contains an interesting combination of Catholic, pagan, and possibly African elements. He does not deal directly with a patient but gets information concerning the nature of the illness through an assistant who questions the patient. After the conference the patient is taken to a room which resembles a chapel in that it has an altar and images of saints. The patient is seated on a chair close to a heavy curtain behind which sits Don Rosas. The visitor 787 is given an image of a saint to hold while the curandero prays and 755 goes into a trance. When he is "as if dead" an assistant wafts incense smoke toward him and he begins to speak, as though from a deep sleep, telling what illness the patient is suffering from. Whether or not a cure is possible, is determined by a glass of water which has been placed among the images near the incense burner. If the water turns white there is hope for a cure, if black there is none.

755 If a remedy is possible, Don Rosas then points out the necessary steps to protect the individual and his family from the enemy who is provoking the symptoms. The patient must drink a sweet-sour tasting liquid, prepared by Don Rosas and stirred with a metal cross. The patient then pays two pesos for the cure but first must cleanse himself with the bills in the parts of his body which give him pain, and leave the money on the altar. Before leaving, the patient is given additional medicines to take each night and is generally advised to cleanse himself with very hot herb applications. More medicine is given as needed without charge and the patient is advised that the medicine must never be placed on the ground since it would lose its potency. Some patients need several consultations, all of which are conducted in the same manner, before they feel well again.

177 743 [554] Although he does not hold any official municipal position, Don Rosas is a tremendous power in Tepoztlán because of his prestige and renown as a curer. There is little doubt that the introduction of a medical clinic in the center of his own community did not

escape his watchful eye. Nor did it escape the notice of others in 177
positions of power who did hold office. While the medical aspects 743
of the clinic were of paramount concern to local health practitioners, its organizational aspects attracted the watchfulness of local political officials.

The Political Climate of Tepoztlán

The village of Tepoztlán is the largest of eight villages that 631
comprise the municipality of Tepoztlán. It is the seat of the municipal government and as such is the most important administrative and political center of the municipality. The municipality of Tepoztlán is one of 27 municipios of the state of Morelos. It is governed by the state constitution which provides for "free municipios," local governments elected by popular vote. [642]

The municipal government consists of the following officers: mayor, syndic, comptroller, secretary, treasurer, police chief, subpolice chief, justice of the peace, his secretary, and a porter. In addition, there are eight councilmen, each representing one of [646]
the wards of the village. The four major officials—mayor, syndic, comptroller, and justice of the peace—are elected by popular [666]
vote for a two-year period. The other officials are appointed by the mayor in agreement with the syndic and comptroller.

The duties of the major officials are determined by state law. 631
Their manner of functioning depends upon their personalities. 643
A meek mayor will serve only as a figurehead and allow the syndic [646]
and secretary to run the government. An aggressive mayor may take over the functions of the other officials. As executive officer, the mayor is the official representative of Tepoztlán in dealings with the outside. His signature is necessary for most correspondence and official acts. He sets the fines for infractions of the law; in addition, villagers often bring their private difficulties and family quarrels to him.

By far the greatest number of tasks falls to the secretary. He is 646
generally the most literate of the officials. He opens and closes the government offices six days a week, signs all correspondence, attends all public functions, maintains the records of the munici-

646 pio, advises the other officers of the state law, keeps the mayor
informed of all complaints, and attends to all complaints and
requests for certifications.

According to the law of the state of Morelos, Tepoztlán is supposed
631 to be a free and autonomous political and administrative
unit. In practice, however, the municipio appears more as an administrative
dependency of the state governor. It is he who makes
most of the municipio's major decisions, and decides local conflicts.
665 There are no well-organized political parties in Tepoztlán;
rather there are a number of loosely organized factions. This
662 makes it necessary for every candidate for political office to play
politics skillfully to obtain sufficient support from the unorganized
electorate. Any recent incident or situation in the public eye is
enlisted to further one's political fortunes. Municipal elections
666 command much public attention and are bitterly fought.

When the medical clinic was established early in 1944, local
661 politicians were looking ahead to the municipal elections in
177 November. The mayor especially was worried about his position,
743 since he had been temporarily jailed a short time before by the
state governor for practicing nepotism. The comptroller, who had
been appointed mayor pro tem, was most reluctant to relinquish
this office when the mayor was released and ready to regain his
post. Two councilmen with their eye on higher office had formed
an "Education Committee" to espouse the construction of a new
school and were hostile to the newly appointed principal of the
existing school.

It was into this atmosphere of political intrigue and jockeying for power that the clinic happened to be introduced. It intruded directly or indirectly into the sphere of interest of important and influential figures in Tepoztlán—Don Rosas, the mayor, the comptroller, the Education Committee, the school principal, and others. Since none of these could claim credit for introducing this new public service and since its presence distracted the people from the coming elections and served as a reminder of how little the local officials did for the village, the clinic became the object of their attack. Each in his own way examined our project as a whole to find something that presented a vulnerable front for attack. They found it in the testing program.

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were calling witnesses and questioning them in such a way as to create more suspicion and to spread the gossip throughout the village.

The accusations were specifically as follows: that the testers were showing indecent pictures to the children; that the testers were taking the children off alone to the banana grove for the purpose of undressing them; that the doctor was undressing the girls for physical examinations.

This turn of affairs was a serious threat to the entire project. We set to work at once to investigate. We visited the principal of the school and went over each test in detail with him and with his staff. They all declared that the tests were in no way objectionable and that the accusations were unfounded. The principal explained that a mother had come to the school to tell him that her husband had forbidden her children to return to school because he thought they were losing too much time as a result of the testing program. The principal had asked her to send her children back and he promised to end the testing. In checking the chronology of events, we learned that the principal had ordered the testing program stopped two days before the mother appeared at the school.

The principal went on to say that a few days after he was visited by the mother, a committee of 12 men and women came to the school to protest against the "immoral" tests which we were giving their children. The leaders of this group were members of the Education Committee, the bitter enemy of the school that had been attacking the principal ever since he had arrived in Tepoztlán. After visiting the school, the Committee went to the town hall, where they persuaded the mayor to institute an investigation.

We spoke with the two councilmen who were the leaders of the Committee and showed them the tests. They agreed that they were not immoral but stated that this was no proof that our workers were not asking other questions not included in the tests. They said they were of the opinion that the tests were too complicated and too advanced for so backward a people and were bound to be misinterpreted by them. This device of citing ignorance of the people as a reason for rejecting innovations was frequently [177]

used by the conservatives in the village. We urged them to put a 125
stop to the mayor's "investigation," but they refused. A talk with 208
the mayor was equally unsuccessful. He was continuing the in- 661
vestigation with enthusiasm, evidently impelled by motives of [177]
his own. He turned a deaf ear to our explanations and was non-
committal during the interview. The municipal secretary, one of
the few Tepoztecan women to hold this post, was a religious [562]
fanatic and was much disliked in the village. She had a great deal
of influence over the mayor and was conducting the investigation
for him.

That evening we were visited by a man who introduced him-
self as "Antonio Lopez, a Christian, and a friend of the Tepoz- 125
tecans." He had a marked military manner, clicked his heels, and 661
spoke with a German accent. He said he was a friend of one of the
leaders of the Education Committee and wished to warn us that
he did not like the work we were doing in Tepoztlán. He said
that, although it was true that for the present Mexico and the
United States were friendly, he was of the opinion that the situa-
tion would not last long and that the people were suspicious of our
motives. In the course of our conversation, he also lamented the
fact that education was no longer in the hands of the church but
said that, too, might be changed in the future. We later learned
that this man was part German and had been educated in Ger-
many. He was a Synarchist and four years before had been
ordered out of Tepoztlán by the state governor because he was [668]
behaving like a Nazi agent.

Synarchism is a well-organized political movement, the Mexi- 668
can brand of Fascism. Although it has received the support of and
worked closely with Nazi and Falangist elements since its incep-
tion, it is nevertheless a grass-roots movement with a large peasant
base. In 1943 the strength of the Synarchist membership was esti-
mated at well over a million. Tepoztlán was marginal to the
regions of Synarchist concentration, but nearby towns had suf-
fered from Synarchist-inspired uprisings in protest against the
government program of conscription.

We appealed to a state senator who was a native of Tepoztlán 125
and who happened to be living in the village at the time. He 661
offered to help us, and we arranged to go to the state governor

[redacted] group of influential figures decided to capitalize on 125
entment, once aroused, to further their own political for- 661
tunes. Municipal elections were to be held in a few months. In [208]
addition to the mayor, who hoped to exploit public indignation
over "immorality" to gain reelection, one of the two councilmen
who headed the Education Committee was hoping to become
mayor and promoted resentment for similar reasons. These two
men became the spearhead of the attack on the project.

The opposition of the school principal was related to the activi- 872
ties of the Education Committee. The principal, newly appointed 125
to Tepoztlán, was being opposed at every turn by the Education 177
Committee. This group charged the principal with being im- 661
moral and a Communist, because he allowed special dances to be
given in the school for the purpose of raising funds. The Commit-
tee had opposed innovations in the school and was engaging in
obstructive activities. Our presence provided further grounds for
fighting the school.

The eagerness of the principal in stopping the testing program
without consulting us or investigating the charges could have
been attributed to his fear of the Education Committee. However,
he had ordered our workers out of the school before a single com-
plaint had been made. One of the teachers told us that the princi-
pal, in an effort to ingratiate himself with the Education Commit-
tee and represent himself as a defender of morality, went to them
with accusations against us, which they eagerly took up and
carried further, since they had been looking for some grounds for
attacking our project. Arranging the visit of the mothers to the
school and the town hall was their way of carrying out plans to [208]
persuade the mayor to conduct an investigation and to arouse
the village.

The actions of the Education Committee were also tied to 125
Antonio Lopez, the Synarchist organizer. He had succeeded, 661
years before, in converting the two councilmen who headed the 668
Education Committee. At one time these men had openly pro-
claimed themselves as Synarchists, but recently had ceased doing
so although they still were intimates of Lopez. These men had
branded our group "an imperialist mission," and their anti-U. S.
sentiments provided further incentive for their opposition to us.

125 In brief, our well-intentioned efforts to win the cooperation of
661 the villagers by helping them solve some of their problems were
177 interpreted by several local figures as a personal threat.

743 By advising the poor-land farmers we unwittingly were helping the faction out of power; by establishing the clinic we were implicitly reproaching the "do-nothings" in power. The testing program, whose purposes were only vaguely comprehended and only indirectly beneficial to the people, provided a vulnerable target, and it was here that hostility aroused by the introduction of the medical clinic could be played out.

The strategy was effective. The loudly expressed indignation of the officials and a small but vocal group of villagers succeeded in intimidating the rest of the people for a period of time. The clinic languished and we made no attempt to reestablish it. The testing program was stopped in the school but continued quietly in the homes; in the six months that followed, the research program was carried out without further disturbance.

Cooperatives, Individualism, and Politics

177 We have already seen that inadequacies in the facilities of the
743 clinic had little bearing on its failure. In fact, one might speculate
661 that the clinic would have aroused even greater opposition had it been medically more effective. If so humble an example of modern medicine could provoke disruptive antagonism, a well-equipped clinic, better able to meet the needs of the villagers, might have posed an even greater threat to those in power.

177 It is also possible that less opposition would have been aroused had we not decided to organize the clinic on a cooperative basis.
743 We have already given the rationale for deciding on the coopera-
476 tive type of organization. Had we known then what we found out later, we would have reconsidered our decision. However, the very fact that we acted as we did set into motion events that gave us additional insights into the culture of Tepoztlán.

The Mexican Revolution had far-reaching effects upon Tepoztlán. It succeeded in breaking down the rigid social class distinctions which once existed in the village and imbued the people with a consciousness of their rights as individuals. The
[571] strong individualism of Tepoztecans manifests itself in their social

and economic institutions. The biological family is the more or 177
less self-sufficient and independent economic unit. Social rela- 743
tions between families and even close relatives are formal and 476
distant. Land is owned individually, and even the communal 571
lands are worked individually. Work exchange is uncommon; wage labor prevails in intra-village relations. Occasions upon which either men or women cooperate in their daily tasks are few. Before the Spanish conquest more than 400 years ago, there existed a system of cooperative labor called *cuatequitl* which was used for the building of village public works, but it was never a purely voluntary organization and has now almost completely disintegrated.

Practically the only occasions upon which the Tepoztecans have shown either a willingness or capacity to work together has been in connection with their fiestas and when their communal lands were threatened. But even in regard to the latter, there is growing disunity. In the land dispute previously described, only those individuals whose interests were directly affected took measures to protect themselves.

Another reason the cooperative form was not appropriate to 578
Tepoztlán relates to the great complexity of social, economic, 177
political, and religious cleavages among the villagers. There are 743
landless peons and wealthy farmers; literate and sophisticated
merchants of the central plaza and illiterate and primitive 476
farmers of the outlying barrios; the sons of the families that dominated Tepoztlán prior to the Revolution and the very Zapatistas who overthrew them; the fanatic believers in the old Catholic religion as practiced in Tepoztlán with its elements of paganism, and a Protestant sect which has succeeded in winning almost an entire barrio as adherents; sympathizers of Synarchism on the one hand and sympathizers of the left-wing labor movement on the other. In addition to all this, within many families there are differences between the younger and older generations which reflect the rapid changes taking place in the village.

IMPLICATIONS

Our experience in Tepoztlán suggests a number of more 000
general problems concerning the comprehensiveness of village

000 research and improvement programs, the type of doctors suitable for work in rural areas, the role of local organizational patterns, and the significance of the local balance of power.

Combined Programs

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From the standpoint of our research aims, it seemed desirable to provide the services of a medical clinic to gain good will and cooperation. Conversely, the psychological testing program seemed warranted, quite apart from its value as a social science research tool, as one means of understanding the people's attitudes and behavior in order to have a better basis for predicting the outcome of health and betterment programs. Thus, a combination of research and service programs held out the promise of better results than could be expected from either activity alone. At the same time, each was capable—as it turned out—of arousing overt or covert opposition which could be directed against the other. It might be argued that a limitation of activity in the village would expose a smaller flank for attack. The merits and handicaps of mixing research and service are difficult to assess apart from the particular situation. Even in a specific case, as in Tepoztlán, the fact that one course of action encountered trouble does not necessarily imply that an opposite course would have been more successful.

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A more positive stand can be taken on the issue of whether a medical care program would thrive better if it were introduced by itself or if it were made part of a more comprehensive improvement program. While it is possible that a more general approach might threaten more interests and thus incite a more general counter attack, it is also clear that even a very limited program of modern medical care such as was attempted in Tepoztlán would have great difficulty sustaining itself so long as the villagers remain as poor as they are. Even the modest fee of one peso charged by the cooperative proved too much for many. Financial means is not the whole answer, but it is a necessary element in the totality of factors affecting the success or failure of a medical service clinic. The spread of modern medicine hinges, among other things, on increasing the income of the villagers and is related to the larger problem of raising the standard of living by

increasing purchasing power. This in turn requires an action 177
program wider than health improvement by itself. 743

Introducing Modern Medicine in Rural Mexico

Despite their high degree of acculturation, the majority of 177
Tepoztecans are not ready to give up their curanderos. However, 757
they are ready to consider the doctor an alternative, especially in
cases of chronic or serious illnesses. This was clearly shown by the 759
fact already mentioned that the doctor's first patients were
persons who suffered from chronic illnesses which apparently had
not responded to the treatment of the curanderos. Because of
this circumstance the doctor begins with a handicap. Unable to
produce miraculous cures in these far-gone cases, he loses prestige.

There is a great lack of confidence in doctors, partly because so many of them display an attitude of superiority toward native concepts of disease and often ridicule native beliefs and practices. Indeed, the Tepoztecans, as well as the doctors, are keenly aware of their different conceptual worlds. This is undoubtedly a serious obstacle to the spreading of modern medical practice and unless the gap between these two distinct levels of explanation is bridged, progress will be very slow.

A few examples from Tepoztlán will help to make this clear. 753
According to Tepoztecans, there are "hot" and "cold" diseases, 757
just as there are "hot" and "cold" foods. A mother who is con-
vinced that her child is suffering from a hot disease brought on by 177
the adultery of her husband, knows that the child needs a cold
medicine. If she goes to a curandero, she tells him that the child
is suffering from a hot disease, but if she goes to a doctor she says
nothing. If the doctor's medicine does not improve the child, the
mother attributes it to the fact that the doctor did not understand
the nature of the illness and gave the child a hot medicine instead
of a cold medicine.

On the other hand, if the curandero does not effect a cure, her explanation is of a different kind. She now believes that the heat of the disease was so great that there was no medicine cold enough to counteract it; her faith in the curandero and distrust of the doctor continue. In the case of the illnesses supposedly caused by humors or spirits of the air, most Tepoztecans are reluctant to

177 visit a doctor because of their conviction that doctors do not
757 understand either the cause or the cure of such diseases.

Governed by their own interpretation of illness, people in the
[753] village approach modern doctors with distrust, realizing that
they do not fully understand certain classes of illness, such as those due to evil humors or those related to the hot-cold distinction. It is, therefore, important for the doctor to become familiar with the native concepts and to utilize them as a psychological means of gaining confidence. The job of establishing rapport and gaining confidence under these conditions is no easy one. It demands a doctor who has the zeal and spirit of a missionary and some understanding of the relativity of cultural values.

Aside from factors of personality and of understanding local
177 beliefs, the ability of a doctor to gain confidence and prestige de-
757 pends upon his technical skill in making accurate diagnoses and
759 effecting cures. While it is unfair to generalize about the quality
of Mexican rural doctors as a whole, our impression from personal experience is that they are poorly trained and equipped and show little enthusiasm for work in the villages. Considering the conditions under which rural doctors must live and work in Mexico, it is probable that this phenomenon is more widespread. There is little incentive for the superior doctor to leave the city and go to rural areas. At best, few are willing to undergo the hardships of rural life with its isolation and lack of comforts and diversions; in addition, salaries are low, opportunities for advancement are few, and there is little permanency of assignment. As a result of these conditions, rural doctors are frequently recruited from those of inferior abilities and this in turn makes it more difficult to win over the Indian villager to modern medicine.

Local Organizational Patterns

177 Any attempt to revive or establish a "democratic" institution,
476 such as a cooperative in a community that has lived for years
under an authoritative system, must take cognizance of the pro-
743 found effect of this conditioning to authority upon the psychology
474 of the people. The lack of personal initiative and village spirit
[157] found in Tepoztlán may be attributed to this conditioning. Our
experience made it clear that chances for success would have been

better if we had operated according to current organizational 177
practices. Had the doctors been brought in to set up a private 743
clinic rather than a cooperative, there might have been less
difficulty. Previous attempts to set up cooperatives in other ac- 476
tivities had met with similar or more drastic difficulties. In 1930 474
Tepoztlán organized a Forestry Cooperative for the production and sale of charcoal. It lasted only a few years, for the village divided into hostile political factions. The officers of the cooperative were suspected of stealing funds, the president was murdered, and the cooperative dissolved. A more recent cooperative to run the bus line between Tepoztlán and Cuernavaca also is rent by dissension and violence.

The results in Tepoztlán lead to the conclusion that the introduction of modern medicine should not be attempted through the mechanism of cooperatives in regions where a long-standing cooperative tradition is lacking. The more general lesson is that programs, to be practical, are not to be devised according to an ideal organizational model, however much this model may appeal to program planners, but must take account of the organizational pattern familiar to the people of the particular community.

Entrenched Power

Those who enter a community to engage in an action program 121
must recognize the implications of the fact that they are not enter-
ing a power vacuum. In every human community there exists a 123
network of relations between individuals. It is to the interest of many of these individuals to maintain this system of relationships. Any group of outsiders moving into a community will be seen by some as potentially disruptive, even if they plan no action. If they do plan action, whatever positive measures they undertake, no matter how benign, will be perceived by some community members as a threat to their own status and interests.

It is tempting to attribute the antagonism of these people and their obstructive activities to the fact that they are wicked people, opposing common good because of selfish motives. Even if this were so, the frequency of such obstruction makes it reasonable to anticipate its occurrence and to be able to cope with it realistically.

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It may appear to some that the downfall of the clinic in Tepoztlán can be attributed simply and directly to the personal antagonism of Don Rosas. Already worried that his power and position of privilege would be undermined if modern medicine got a foothold in the village, he immediately viewed the clinic as a competitor and resorted to unscrupulous methods to bring about its downfall. This is undoubtedly true, but can the clinic's downfall be simply attributed to the personal villainy of one man?

Don Rosas' actions were motivated by the fact that he belonged to a profession that was being slowly crowded out by newer and more modern techniques. There is no reason to believe that any of the other curanderos in the village felt differently about the clinic. But since Don Rosas was more powerful than the others, he was in a better position to do something about his antagonism. Rather than an evil individual, Don Rosas can be taken as a symbol of the traditional practitioner everywhere who is being deprived of his status and importance by the advance of modern medicine.

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But aside from the threat to traditional medicine, we have seen that Don Rosas was not alone in opposing the clinic. In fact, virtually every established political figure in Tepoztlán—the mayor, the school principal, the councilmen, the secretary, and others—had or found reasons for sabotaging the clinic. If we are to attribute personal villainy to Don Rosas, we must do the same for the whole of Tepoztlán officialdom. And we must also include the governor and senator of the state of Morelos. Rather than conclude that this just happened to be a particularly corrupt regime and expect the next one to be different, it would seem more rational to consider this state of affairs as something inherent in the culture of Tepoztlán and, in fact, of many communities.

Instead of explaining the attack on the medical clinic in Tepoztlán as the unscrupulous work of a fortuitous aggregation of villains, it would be more realistic to regard it as a special case of a general response to the introduction of any new enterprise into an established community. Whenever the activities of an outside group—health team, research project, or any enterprise affecting the pattern of interpersonal relations within a community

—are perceived by those in power as threatening their position, they will attempt directly or indirectly to undermine the efforts of that group. 177 743 661

SUMMARY

When our research team came to the Mexican village of Tepoztlán to study its culture and its people, the residents asked us to help them in a practical way, pointing out that they lacked a doctor, among other things. The Mexican government supplied a doctor for a six-month term, and we helped the community establish a medical cooperative that might be able to persist as a going concern even after we left the village. Despite the fact that the cooperative seemed to meet an expressed need and despite its initial success as judged by attendance, the clinic quite suddenly lost patronage and was abandoned. 177 743 657

Compared with carefully planned, government-sponsored health and medical programs in underdeveloped areas, our small-scale endeavor which grew out of the needs of a research project was clearly a minor, almost amateur, effort. Nevertheless, this case study highlights a number of principles and problems to be found in most attempts to introduce modern medicine into so-called backward areas of the world.

This case throws light upon the dynamic forces at work in a peasant community which, on the surface, appears simple and static. It shows quite clearly that the success or failure of a medical program depends ~~on~~ many cultural factors besides the competence of doctors and the quality of services. The major obstacles encountered in the Tepoztlán case were these: readiness to distrust innovations and a generalized lack of interest in changing local ways of doing things; inadequacy of economic resources, even the one peso fee being too high for many villagers; lack of rapport between doctors and patients resting on the doctors' ignorance of native illness concepts and an attitude of superiority; continued faith of the villagers in their local curanderos; finally, and perhaps most important, readiness of local interest groups, headed by the leading curandero, to view the medical cooperative as a threat to their power. //